

THE LIBRARY.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES.

THE foundation of another national library is an event in more than one sense. The reasons for calling into existence a library of national status must naturally be of interest, while the opportunity of taking advantage of recent advances in library science, and applying them to a new library which may grow to large dimensions, is so rare on this side of the Atlantic as to be of unusual importance.

The movement for a National Library for Wales dates back to 1872, in which year a large gathering of Welsh people, brought together by the annual Eisteddfod at Mold, in Flintshire, passed a resolution in favour of a National Library being provided in conjunction with the University College of Wales, then recently opened at Aberystwyth. This was the first, and for some years the only, University College in Wales. Its establishment marks the beginning of that epoch of educational zeal which in less than forty years has given

Wales Secondary and Intermediate Schools throughout every county, the three University Colleges (Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff), which constitute the University of Wales, and a separate department at the Board of Education. To these achievements must now be added the National Museum at Cardiff, and the National Library at Aberystwyth.

For many years the desire for a National Library remained a dream, or less than a dream, for the public mind was centred more on the Museum. The foundation in 1893 of the University of Wales, with the three colleges as its constituents, drew attention to the lack of facilities for pursuing the higher branches of learning and for research. Neither of the three colleges possesses a museum or library of any extent, while the University itself has neither one nor the other. Moreover, there was not in the whole of the Principality any library or museum of importance, except those belonging to the municipality of Cardiff. Wales has never received any help from public sources for the setting up of a library. Under the Copyright Act, England is entitled to three copies, and Scotland and Ireland each to one copy, of every book issued in the British Islands, while certain libraries receive money grants in lieu of the copyright grant formerly enjoyed. Wales has never had any of these privileges, and the result is a dearth, difficult to realise, of the more costly and unusual books. The transactions of the learned societies, publications of governments at home and abroad, scientific periodicals, the great works of reference, and the more

expensive books in every branch of knowledge, have never found their way to Wales.

Yet, though from this point of view a very desert, from another side Wales presents a marked and instructive contrast to almost every other country. She has a native literature, printed and in manuscript, extending back to quite early times, and marked by considerable activity of production in our own day. Every year Welsh printing presses turn out some hundreds of books, large and small, in the Welsh language, while there are something like fifty newspapers and periodicals in Welsh issued regularly.

These books and periodicals imply a people which buys and reads them. And this is where, I think, Wales is remarkable. The love of literature pervades its people. In almost every family there is one reader who accumulates books, and a respectable Welsh home without a fair supply of books is a thing almost unknown. The choice has been confined to rather a narrow range, yet the extent to which people whose stock of money is very limited have saved to purchase the works of the great English writers, as well as the Welsh Encyclopædia and other publications of the Welsh press, is surprising.

The conditions which the National Library of Wales has to meet are, therefore, of exceptional interest. A native literature of considerable extent, a reading people thirsting for books, an educational system cramped (and in its upper branches paralysed) for want of tools, and the absence within its borders of any supply of the great books of the world.

To these factors one more may be added, viz., that the University is peripatetic, holding its congregations at each of its constituent colleges in turn, and that there are consequently not one, but three educational centres.

From what has been said, it will be quite obvious that there are two main lines of action to be followed in collecting the Library. The first of these is to bring together the native literature to be found chiefly within the borders of the Principality. As will be seen later this side of the Library has been extensively provided for by the collections of Sir John Williams, Bart., and others.

The second great aim is to bring within the reach of people residing in Wales, books necessary for the pursuit of those higher studies which the colleges and the University were founded to promote. These must be gathered from outside Wales, and brought in.

A Royal Charter founding the National Library of Wales was issued under the King's sign manual in March, 1907, which sets forth the object of the Library as follows :

‘The collection preservation and maintenance of manuscripts printed books periodical publications newspapers pictures engravings and prints musical publications and works of all kinds whatsoever especially manuscripts printed books and other works which have been or shall be composed in Welsh or any other Celtic language or which relate or shall relate to the antiquities language literature philology history religion arts crafts and industries of the Welsh and other Celtic peoples as well as all literary works whether connected or not with Welsh

subjects composed written or printed in whatsoever language on whatsoever subject and wheresoever published which may help to attain the purposes for which the University of Wales the University College of Wales Aberystwyth the University College of North Wales the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire and the other educational institutions existing in Wales were created and founded especially the furtherance of higher education within the meaning of the Education Acts 1870 to 1902 and of literary and scientific research. And further the creation and maintenance of duplicate and multiplicate specimens and collections to be lent and used from time to time for the purpose of exhibition and instruction at or in connection with the said Colleges and other educational institutions existing in Wales and the preparation and circulation for instructional purposes of photographs and slides of such specimens and collections.'

The principal Governing Body is the Court of Governors, consisting of the President, Vice-President, and Treasurer, nine members appointed by the Lord President of the Council, three appointed by the University of Wales, one by each of the three colleges, and the Central Welsh Board, the Members of Parliament for Wales and Monmouthshire, one elected by each of the County and County Borough Councils of the thirteen counties, and eight co-opted members, a total of seventy-nine. The Council, appointed from amongst the members of the Court, consists of twenty-two members. The election of the governing bodies, the drafting of statutes, and other preliminary work took up a year and a half.

The Library as a place with a habitation came into existence on the 1st January, 1909, a temporary

home being fitted up for it in a building known as the old Assembly Rooms, in the town of Aberystwyth. This building is a commodious one, and has lent itself to adaptation as a temporary home for the Library with satisfactory results.

In view of the precious manuscripts likely to become the property of the Library a fire-proof strong room was constructed, while the space available in the large assembly room was fitted with metal book standards running across the floor. A number of subsidiary rooms have been adapted as offices and workrooms, and one, the largest, has been fitted up for readers, with seats for twelve persons working at one time. Space for six or eight further readers can if necessary be found in the main room.

It has been said above that the proposal for a National Library remained a dream, or even less than a dream, for some years after it was first suggested. To one man, however, it was always something more than a dream, a thing to be worked for, and he commenced nearly forty years ago to make the collections which, on the 1st of January, 1909, he transferred to form the basis of the National Library. First at Swansea, and afterwards in London, Sir John Williams cherished his visions of a great library for Wales, and steadily pursued his purpose of bringing together a worthy nucleus for such an institution. He was named in the Charter as the first President, and as soon as there was a building available, he handed over his books and manuscripts. He had purchased whole collections, such as the Welsh portion of the Shirburn

Castle library, the library of John Parry of Llanarmon, the Hengwrt and Peniarth Manuscripts, and others, besides the individual purchases which he spared neither money nor effort to procure.

It is difficult in a short space to convey an adequate idea of the wealth of treasures brought together by Sir John Williams, but the following summary of some features in his collection will be of interest to readers of 'THE LIBRARY.'

THE HENGWRT AND PENIARTH MANUSCRIPTS.

These, for just half a century, were kept with care and pride at Peniarth, the ancestral home of the Wynnes in Merionethshire.

The history of the collection is interesting. The story begins with Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, born 1592, died 1666, a man of scholarly tastes, educated at Oxford, with a leaning to antiquarian and genealogical pursuits, the friend and correspondent of such men as John Seldon and Archbishop Usher. His tastes naturally led him to collect the manuscripts of the early Welsh writers and others, which, through the break-up of the monasteries, and the disruptions of the Civil War, were in considerable danger of perishing. The Peniarth collection is made up of over five hundred manuscripts in Welsh, Cornish, English, and Latin, and of these rather more than four-fifths were in the Hengwrt Library, and except for a few additions made by his descendants, were brought together by Robert Vaughan.

The manuscripts remained in the family up to the death of Sir Robert William Vaughan, Bart., of Nanneu, Hengwrt, and Rûg, who bequeathed them to his great friend Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, of Peniarth, and on his death they passed to his eldest son, the late Mr. W. R. M. Wynne. There being no direct heir, Mr. W. R. M. Wynne in 1905 sold the manuscripts to Sir John Williams, subject to the life interest of himself and his brother, Mr. Owen Slaney Wynne, on condition that they were to become the property of the National Library of Wales, if established at Aberystwyth. Mr. Owen Slaney Wynne died before his brother, and on the death of Mr. W. R. M. Wynne in January, 1909, the manuscripts passed to the National Library.

The Welsh MSS. in the collection have been fully described in Reports prepared for the Historical MSS. Commission, by Mr. John Gwenogvryn Evans, M.A., D.Litt.,¹ who says the collection is 'undoubtedly the premier collection of Welsh manuscripts, both in extent and quality. Here we have the oldest MSS. of the laws of Wales, in Latin and Welsh; the oldest versions of the *Mabinogion*, as well as of the Arthurian and other romances; the oldest and only perfect copy of the *Holy Grail*; an early translation of a portion of the Gospel of Matthew; an immense body of poetry, ranging from the *Black Book of Carmarthen* down to the eighteenth century; historical works like the *Brut y Tywysogion*; and a large number of the theological works current in the

¹ Historical MSS. Commission. Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, Vol. I., Parts ii. and iii. London, 1899-1905.

Middle Ages. We have here also not only the most extensive collection of pedigrees, but by far the oldest manuscripts with authentic contemporary accounts and references to sources of information.'

Again, writing of Robert Vaughan, Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans says: 'No student can refrain from paying him a most sincere tribute of admiration and gratitude for his prescience and skill in bringing together the noblest monuments of Kymric history and literature. Though it is true that his collection of Welsh MSS. is the finest in existence, still his merit was not in making it the biggest collection, but in securing nearly every manuscript of importance in the language, leaving transcripts to others.'

The 'Black Book of Carmarthen' is the glory of the Hengwrt Library, as indeed it would be of any library possessing it, for it is the oldest MS. in the Welsh language, and one of the MSS. denominated the 'Four Ancient Books of Wales.' It is on vellum, and written in several hands of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the oldest portions being at least as early as 1195. The Priory of St. John at Carmarthen was founded for Black Canons about the year 1148, and in its scriptorium the Black Book was compiled or copied, it is hard to decide which, for some of the compositions belong to an earlier age. The poems are a compound of mythology, religion, history, and literature. The first poem in the MS. is a dialogue between Myrddin and Taliesin, the subject being the battle of Arvderydd. The text of the Black Book has been

reproduced with an introduction by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.

Another of the 'Four Ancient Books' is also in the collection, 'The Book of Taliesin,' written on vellum, probably at Neath or Margam, *circa* 1275, and containing the poems attributed to the Welsh bard, Taliesin, the subject of much controversy in the nineteenth century. Thomas Stephens, of Merthyr, and Professor Skene have, unfortunately, not lived to see the day when this and other MSS., in which they were keenly interested, are available for research workers, but the opportunity of studying the original of this precious MS. will attract other scholars to the National Library. A facsimile of it will be included in the Series of Old Welsh Texts, prepared by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans.

Of first importance amongst literary manuscripts is the 'Llyvyr Gwyn Rhydderch,' or the White Book of Roderick, containing the Mabinogion and other romances, copied in several hands of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Mabinogion stories in the White Book are earlier than the same stories in the Red Book of Hergest, and there is internal evidence that the scribe of the Red Book either used this MS. or that both have been transcribed from an earlier original now lost. The White Book also contains the Charlemagne cycle of stories, Bown of Hampton, the Purgatory of Patrick, the Gospel of Nicodemus, an account of a series of miracles wrought by the Blessed Virgin and St. Edmund of Canterbury, the history of Pilate and Judas, and several other pieces of mediæval literature in Welsh.

gylch ar y blat heb ef atyn a lwy
 y hollau heden ar hynan heb
 ual y buant oren. ac yna hynuo
 di aonr ynteu ac edrych. a phan
 edrych ef abelei y holl blat yu
 ghuanhed ac yn gysseir o y holl
 alauoed ay hanedau. Ila ryo bal
 lanaeth y bu pyderi ariannou
 yndab heb ef. pyderi auydei ac
 ynd forth u y llys i am yu ynbgyl.
 ariannou auydei auybureu
 yu efllym bedy dydyu yu h ynteu
 guer am y m yu ynbgyl h yheu. ac
 y uelly y bu eu carchar. ac o ach
 abe y carchar h bunn y gelbot y
 h yuarbydyr h bunn mabmoga
myburei a mynord. ac y uelly y
 y ceru yna y geru yu yna
 oz mabmogy. — || —

Math uab mathonby oed ar
 gloed ar byned. a pyderi
 uab byll oed ar gloed ar uan
 tref arugenit yu y deheu. Def
 oed y rei hynny. Berth cantref dy
 uat. a lenth morgannhbc. a phe
 dbar h yredig yabu. Athu yllrat
 . tior. ac yu yu oes honno. math
 uab mathonby ny bydei u yu
 uam yu tra uei y deudroet yu y
 coth maw yu ongt h yu yff ty
 uel ay llestereu. Def oed yu no
 rbyu gyt ac ef. goebm uerch fe
 bu o dol pelu yu aruon. Ithou
 no tectaf maw yu oed yu y hoed
 oz ab ydyt yna. ac ynteu y ghaer
 bathyl yu aruon yu oed y ghaer

'Mabinogion': The end of Manawyddan, son of Llyr, and the
 beginning of Math, son of Mathonwy. Written circa 1280.

From 'Llyvyr Gwyn Rhydderch' ('The White Book of Roderick'),
 Hengwrt MS. 408 = Peniarth MS. 4, fol. clxxxii., col. 81.

Among the older Welsh MSS. described in Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans' Report is the MS. containing the odes of Kynddelw, Kyvoesi Merlin, and other pieces, written partly between 1230 and 1250, and partly about 1300, and one a little earlier, *circa* 1225, with fragments of the Mabinogion, and the Romance of Geraint ab Erbin. Another MS. gives the romances of Peredur and Charlemagne, and the 'histories' of Adam, the Crucifixion, Pilate, and Judas Iscariot, transcribed in the fourteenth century; another transcript of the Charlemagne romance belongs to the same period, and yet another to a somewhat later date.

The gem, however, of the romance series is the Ystoryaeu Seint Greal (see illustration), a noble volume, on 280 leaves of fine vellum, written some time before 1400, strongly bound in leather, with clasps. This MS. was printed under the supervision of the Rev. Robert Williams, of Rhydygroesau, in 1876. The opportunity of consulting the original will be a boon to scholars engaged in the study of romance literature.

In MSS. containing the Laws of Hywel Dda the collection is very rich, there being altogether twenty-three copies. A few of these, it should be stated, are partial transcripts. MS. 29, Y Llyvr Du o'r Waun, or the Black Book of Chirk, is the oldest copy of the Laws in Welsh, especially valuable because it is copied from a much older original, now lost. MS. 28, a Latin version, written in the last quarter of the twelfth century, is the oldest of all existing transcripts. This MS. has numerous illustrations of great historical value. MS. 31, an



adysabst yna. Peredur heb hi. Dabre yna y eistedd yny
oityngtho gŵres yn heul. ac ynteu aareth ymybu. a chyt
ai aoruc myn goeth. ac eithyoel hi aberis tymu par
neu y amannab. agvedy kysu ruthur o honab. In aedffo
es. ac aerdhys dymchafel bôd y vynet y bŵyca. 2lc ueth y
gorucpŵyt. ac ny wellet ef enrioet lle ouhallach o bop da.
2lphau erchlet diast. ef aducpŵyt gŵm idab.

Rpuod iui gan beredur gael gŵm. kamps ynyr amlet
hŵmny uyt oed chŵeith gŵm ymbrydaen uale o
ny bei yntle trachyuoethab. 3 ef aoruc pperdur yuet
y gŵm yntle. a meddi odiethy mŵlur. 2lc yna eorŵch
aoruc ef yntle geit y umbennes rac techet y gŵlel. kamps
nykyoyat ef enyoet chelet y bu kyndechert ahi. 2lchynhof
fec yugandŵab ef hi. ac ymadlygaw id y charyat. agbrieu
thur yntab. 2lhythau aenackaabo ef. y peri idab vor yu ch
amogach id. ac yudidiffy y ymbinaabo ef ahi. 2lphau y
gŵles hi efo gŵed ymympab yny charyat hi. hi adysabst
erthab. peredur heb hi gŵybo di yntle gŵm nasknafi yrot u
dun ony rody durbey dy gŵet ar uot yu bu tuab ygyt anybi
ynerbyn bop dyn. ac nasknelych dun ony a archyŵi. Fla
knaf yrofi adus heb ynteu. ac ar hymny ymgredu aorugŵt.
Pua hythau adysabst. Peredur heb hi. gŵybo di yntle gŵm
nasknaphofet genyrti byugbaeli. achenyŵi dy gael di. -
2lc yna hi aerdhys oegŵeithon gŵneuthur y gŵely. 2lc yna
y gŵely aŵnackpŵyt ymyrueo y pebyll. ac y gŵely hŵmny
yo aethant peredur ar borthyn ygyŵgu. 2lphau pŵed bered

'Ystoryaeu Seint Greal.' Written at the end of the fourteenth century.

Hengwrt MS. 49 = Peniarth MS. 11, fol. 47.

early fourteenth century copy, is remarkable for the ornamental border enclosing the writing of the first page, a decoration which Dr. Evans considers unique in the case of Welsh MSS. Besides the one just mentioned, there is another of the fourteenth century, while five belong to the thirteenth. There are two seventeenth century transcripts, one being in the hand of John Jones, Gelli Lyvdy, and the other in the autograph of Robert Vaughan.

There are two Latin MSS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, one of them being of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and numerous copies of *Brut y Brenhinoedd*. Of the *Bruts*, two belong to the thirteenth century. A late fifteenth century *Brut* is interesting in that it is ornamented with large rubricated initials and coloured illustrations of the kings mentioned in the text, from Eneas to Cadwaladyr Vendigeit. A late MS. of the *Brut* is in the autograph of William Kynwal, another was written by Dr. John David Rhys. Four are in the hand of John Jones, three having been written while he was a prisoner in the Fleet.

There are several MSS. of *Brut y Tywysogion* (The Chronicle of the Princes), the earliest of which belongs to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. A MS. written *circa* 1400 is, in Dr. Evans' opinion, a direct transcript of the *Brut* in the Red Book of Hergest, and another copy has paragraphs not to be found in the Red Book. To the same period belongs a copy which was once in the possession of Thomas Wilkins, a seventeenth

century antiquary, who owned the Red Book of Hergest, Llyvyr Angkylr, and other valuable MSS.

The collection contains over forty manuscripts in the autograph of John Jones of Gelli Lyvdy, who was the friend and contemporary of Robert Vaughan, to whom John Jones bequeathed his MSS. Unknown, save to a few specialists, and not even accorded a place in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' John Jones of Gelli Lyvdy was remarkable for many things, and Wales owes to him a great debt for his skill and industry in copying manuscripts, many of which only survive in his transcripts. He excelled as a penman, writing his texts with a fine hand, and embellishing them with capitals and head- and tail-pieces which are really beautiful. His life-story presents points of interest amounting to romance. Bred up to the law as an attorney in the Court of the Marches, he early withdrew himself from practising because, so it is stated, he had too much honesty to pursue it. Possessed of sufficient private means in early life to make the following of his profession a matter of choice rather than necessity, he nevertheless spent a large part of his life in the Fleet Prison in London, though this did not interrupt the work of copying; many of his transcripts bear notes of their being written while he was a prisoner. His tastes were catholic to a degree. The copying of MSS. must have been the absorbing passion of his life. He seems to have copied every MS. he could get hold of, whatever the subject. Hence it is that he has left in his transcripts a mine where students of Welsh poetry, history, genealogy, and

many other subjects may delve. In one MS. we may find pedigrees of the half mythical kings and saints, in another an interlude, here a mediæval religious paraphrase of the Crucifixion or the finding of the Cross, and there the travels of Sir John Mandeville, a copy of an early Calendar, or of the Laws of Howel Dda. Numerous as are the manuscripts of John Jones in the Peniarth Library, there are several in other collections. Many are bulky tomes of 800 to 1,000 pages, often folios. It will be seen, therefore, that his industry was prodigious.

The manuscripts in the autograph of Sir Thomas Williams of Trevriw reveal another instance of devotion to Welsh studies, pursued in the face of innumerable difficulties and a constant struggle with poverty and bad health. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans says there is no more pathetic case in literature than that of Sir Thomas Williams, who graduated M.A. at Oxford in 1573, in which year he was a curate at Trevriw. A near neighbour of William Salesbury, the first translator of the New Testament into Welsh, Williams was drawn to Salesbury's favourite studies, and devoted the remaining thirty-four years of his life to compiling and illustrating by quotations a dictionary of Latin-Welsh and Welsh-Latin. The Latin-Welsh part of the work is in the Peniarth collection, a bulky work in three volumes, representing an enormous amount of industry which has never met with its due meed of recognition. On this work is based the Dictionary of Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, printed in 1632, but the printed book is an abridgement of the original, which yet awaits the enter-

prise of some society or private patron. The Welsh-Latin portion, though not in the Peniarth collection, still survives.

Other manuscripts of the same hand are a commonplace book in which are written numerous notes and quotations for the Dictionary; and a miscellaneous collection containing a copy of the Laws extracted from the White Book of Hergest, Charters relating to Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth and Bardsey, Poetry, Lives of the Saints, etc.

It is impossible to describe the innumerable documents and other materials for elucidating the history, topography, genealogy, land tenure, and other matters relating to Wales or parts thereof. One volume, for example, contains copies of papers dealing with the Court of the Marches in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and the jurisdiction of that court over the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Monmouth and Salop, with observations here and there by Sir Francis Bacon upon the arguments.

There are two MSS. in the Cornish language, one being of exceptional importance, a Cornish mystery, written in 1501, of which this is the only text extant. It was edited and translated by the late Dr. Whitley Stokes, in 1872. The discovery of this manuscript amongst the Peniarth collection about the year 1869 created quite a stir among philologists, Cornish being represented by a very limited written literature, to which this drama was an important addition, especially as a record of the state of the language at the end of the fifteenth century.

The Hengwrt and Peniarth collection includes

I.

K

about two hundred MSS. in Latin, English, and French, some being of considerable value and importance. There is one, for instance, of the thirteenth century, closely and beautifully written, containing a number of letters and charters relating to the monastery of Burton-upon-Trent, and in the same volume is a collection of letters and charters of the Saxon kings of England. There is a folio MS. on vellum of the Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, which is quite one of the oldest, if not the oldest text of that Chronicle, and also an early MS. of Bede. Both these are small folios, on vellum, with rubricated capitals throughout, and the Bede has a good illuminated initial letter.

Among other MSS. in English may be mentioned a transcript of Sir Philip Sidney's translation of the Psalms, and a little volume with regulations for royal and other funerals, processions, etc., including the programme of the funeral of Queen Elizabeth.

Of the English MSS., however, interest centres most in the MS. of Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' a folio, on vellum, of about the year 1420, it is conjectured. This fine volume, three inches thick, has had a bad time with rats or mice, the top being freely nibbled away, yet the text of the MS. has almost entirely escaped injury. Either the rats did not relish the ink, or some scholar or housewife came to the rescue in the nick of time. Professor Skeat writes of this MS. as follows: 'The Hengwrt MS. of the Canterbury Tales is known to be one of the best. It stands second among the seven MSS. selected and printed by the Chaucer Society.

But dooth wylly quade pley, as the flemmyng sayth
 And they fore demy chauncy, by thei fens
 Se thou nat thowth, er the searpen beey-
 Thogh p^r my tale, be of an hostyly-
 But natheles, I wol nat telle it
 Out er the pante, yhus thowt shal be quyt
 And thei lough al the lough, and made cheere
 And seyde his tale, as ye shal after here

The bygynnyng the Cook his tale

Antientis, childour, skellard in omyr tyme
 And of a castel of Breutelleys was he
 Gaillard he was, as goldspynch in the challe
 Yowm as a boye, a yow short-felake
 With lokkes blacke, yfrenys ful ferly
 Dauncen he coude, so wel and iolly
 That he, was clarys peryn perylous
 He was, as ful of lone and panyon
 As is the hyne, ful of hony, othere
 shal was the kench, p^r et hym myghte maake
 At every dysale, wolde he synce a hope
 He loughed bet the danymen, when thei shoude
 For, when they any noyng, was in chape
 Out of the chowpe, myghte wolde he lape
 Til p^r he had, at the nyghte peryn
 And daunced wel, he wolde nocht come ageyn
 And gadred hym, a maynee of his oget
 To hope and synce, and madden which dyspoyt
 And thei, they cotten stouene, for to meete
 To playen at the dees, in which a dyette
 For in the toben, nas they no pientys
 That fange, boude caste a waye of dys
 Than peryn boude, and they to he was fye
 Of his dyspoyt, in place of panyon
 That found his mayster, wel in his chaffaye
 For othe tyme, he found his boy ful deye
 For othe tyme, a pientys tenelun
 That hauntyng dees, ynot or panyon

Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales.' Written circa 1420.

Hengwrt MS. 154 = Peniarth MS. 392, fol. 57.1. Reduced.

An examination of its contents shows that it is unique, not only in the arrangement of the Tales, but in particulars relating to the Tales themselves.'

From the monastery of Evesham came a curious and interesting volume on vellum containing tracts on astrology, the 'Secretum Secretorum' of Aristotle, and other pieces; while some religious house or institution may have been the original owner of a pretty volume bound in oak boards and neatly covered with stamped leather, containing the 'Consuetudinary of Sarum.' A tract in English by John Alcock, bishop of Ely, in the fifteenth century, bears the quaint title 'This is ye Abbey of ye holy gost yt is fonded in a place yt is cleped ye consciens.'

Astrology, astronomy, and arithmetic are represented by several manuscripts, some of them very curious. Science in the Middle Ages was mainly concerned with the first two branches, arithmetic as a subject of education coming somewhat later. The state of the science of arithmetic in the sixteenth century can be gleaned from the title of one little manuscript, 'The Arte of Arithmeticke set fourth by John Martine, Siliceus, and devided into two partes, that is unto speculation or theoricall and the other unto practicall arithmeticke; Very profitable to all kinde of men and allso necessary to be read and learned.' The date of this is somewhere about 1600. Other treatises on arithmetic of slightly earlier date are in the collection.

This very inadequate summary necessarily leaves unmentioned many important MSS. The Report on the collection published by the Historical MSS.

Commission, which deals only with MSS. in the Welsh language, fills 1,130 pages. The two parts of this valuable Report can be obtained from the King's Printers for three shillings and sevenpence.

SHIRBURN MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS.

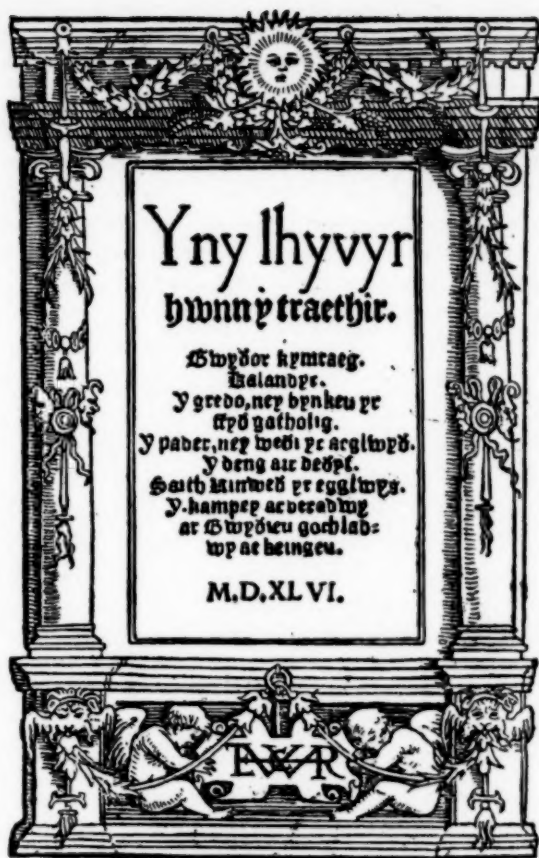
For one hundred and fifty years these valuable books remained undisturbed in the possession of the Earls of Macclesfield at Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, down to 1899, when they were sold. The collection was formed between the years 1690 and 1740 by the Rev. Samuel Williams, a Cardiganshire vicar, and by his son, the Rev. Moses Williams, vicar of Devynock, in Breconshire, who was a Fellow of the Royal Society and an eminent man of letters. On the death of Moses Williams, his library was sold by his widow to William Jones, F.R.S. (father of Sir William Jones, the Oriental scholar), who bequeathed it, with his own library, to the second Earl of Macclesfield in 1749.

Richard Morris, brother of Lewis Morris o Fôn, was familiar with the Shirburn Collection. He was well acquainted with William Jones, the mathematician, one of the former owners of the collection, and was employed by him to index the MSS. In this way he acquired an intimate knowledge of their contents, and in later years, after the MSS. had become the property of the Earl of Macclesfield, he and his brother Lewis made repeated efforts to see and transcribe them. The Earl, however, though himself a distinguished

scholar, could not see his way to agree to their requests, and the manuscripts remained in the unopened boxes in which they had been received. The brothers Lewis and Richard Morris, in writing to one another, continually refer to the collection, and express the hope that the Earl would present them to the British Museum. Fifty years later Hugh Maurice, nephew of Owen Jones, the London furrier, who published the *Myvyrian Archæology*, obtained permission to copy some of the manuscripts, and these copies were secured for the British Museum a few years ago. From the year 1804 up to recent times they were not inspected by any Welshman, until Mr. Egerton Phillimore and Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans, through the kindness of the late Earl of Macclesfield, were given access to them.

The manuscripts are one hundred and fifty-four in number. Many of them have been described fully in the Report on Welsh MSS., Vol. II., Part II., prepared for the Historical MSS. Commission by Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans. They include MSS. in Welsh and Cornish of great value. One of the most valuable MSS. is the earliest Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History, which was written between 1225 and 1250, a time when Wales was still under the authority of its native princes. Another interesting MS. is the Red Book of Talgarth, presented to the Rev. Moses Williams on 19th September, 1719, by John Powell of Talgarth, Brecknockshire.

This MS. is in the same writing as large portions of the Red Book of Hergest, now preserved at the



The first book printed in Welsh.
From the unique copy in the National Library of Wales.

Bodleian Library, and it was probably written about 1400. It contains a few poems by Dafydd ap Gwilym, probably representing the oldest version extant of the poetry of that celebrated bard. It is in excellent condition, and is a fine example of Welsh calligraphy. Another MS. in the collection was written by the celebrated poet Gutyn Owen, in the years 1455 and 1456. There are also in the collection four very large MSS. of Welsh poetry, written by one hand in the seventeenth century. These MSS. are folios, containing respectively 646, 652, 672, and 806 pp. The largest MS. in the collection is one written about the year 1700 by Samuel Williams and his helpers. It measures 14 in. by 9 in., and contains between 1,200 and 1,300 Welsh poems.

All the printed books in the Shirburn Collection are before 1750, when the books became the property of Lord Macclesfield. Owing to their careful preservation the books are in magnificent condition. When the Williamses, father and son, gathered their library, book collecting in Wales was unknown, and they had the pick of everything which came in their way. And, too, books were extant then of which practically all the copies have since perished. An illustration of this is afforded by the earliest known printed book in the Welsh language, 'Yny Lhyvyr hwnn,' a Welsh primer by Sir John Price, printed in 1546, and an undated collection of Welsh Proverbs by William Salesbury. Both these works are in the library, and no other copies are known.

It has always been supposed that the first piece

Cân o Senn iw hên Feistr

TOBACCO

A Gyfanfoddodd Gwafanaethwr Ammodol
iddo Gyn't pan dorodd ar ei Ammod ac
ef, ynghyd a'r Rheffymmeu paham y deff-
ygiodd yng wafanaeth y Concwerwr beu-
nyddiol hwnnw. Ar hen Dôn ac oedd dri-
gannol yn y Deyrnas hon Lawer Blwydd
yn faith Cyn Tirio'r crwydryn yn thi-
ag a Elwid y *Ffrwyner Iâs*, neu *Dan y Coed*
a *Thany Gwydd* Y mae'r 8 sylaf gyntaf
o'r breichiau yn groes rowiog o'r draws
gyhydedd, a'r berreu'n amlaf yn Cyfocho-
ri.

*Argraphwyd yn Nhre-Hedyn, gan Isaac Car-
ter yn y Flwyddyn 1718.*

The first book printed in Wales.

From the unique copy in the National Library of Wales.

of printing executed within the borders of the Principality was dated 1719, but the Shirburn library contains two pieces from the same press, Isaac Carter, Trehedyn, Adpar, Newcastle Emlyn, dated 1718, one, 'Can y Fesur Triban,' and the other (see illustration), 'Can o Senn iw hên Feistr Tobacco' (a song of censure to his old master, Tobacco, which was composed by a former bond-servant of his when he broke his pledge to him, etc.).

And so with many other rare volumes, like 'Kyn-niver llith a ban' and the Dictionary of William Salesbury, either they are unique, or nearly all the other known copies are imperfect. Of the twenty-two books known to have been printed in Welsh before 1600 eighteen are in Sir John Williams' library, and a nineteenth is in another collection transferred to the National Library.

To supply other MSS. in his collection several notable libraries were laid under contribution by Sir John Williams. From the libraries of Lord Ashburnham, of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill, of Mr. Breese of Portmadoc, Sir Lewis Morris, Gwallter Mechain, Jenkins of Kerry, and many others, MSS. have been derived. For many years Sir John has had the first refusal of all MSS. and rare books relating to Wales passing through the hands of Mr. Quaritch and other well-known dealers.

An autograph MS. of the Treatise of Lordship Marchers in Wales, written by George Owen, the versatile historian of Pembrokeshire, and some

interesting autograph MSS. of Edward Llwyd, the father of modern philology, came from the Phillipps collection.

Among the Breese MSS. is a small book of poetry composed and written by William Salesbury of Bachymbyd in 1655. This was the Salesbury who heroically held Denbigh Castle for the king during the Civil War, and refused to capitulate until he had the written permission of the king to do so. He is known to Welsh history as Salesbury of the Blue Stockings. After the king's defeat and death Salesbury retired to the country and devoted himself to good works. Among other things he collected the poems and songs of Vicar Prichard of Llandovery. This collection is still extant, one MS. being at the British Museum and the other in Sir John's collection.

John Parry of Llanarmon, twenty years ago, was known throughout the Principality as a trenchant speaker on Disestablishment. In private life Parry was a farmer and Methodist deacon in Flintshire, one of the last descendants of a race of sturdy yeomen who had been leaders of Methodism for generations in Wales. Few people, however, realized that John Parry was a collector of Welsh books, and no mean authority on Welsh bibliography. He had imbibed a taste for collecting from his ancestors, who had bought Williams of Pantycelyn's hymns and elegies, Robert Jones of Roslan's lesson books, and Charles of Bala's catechisms as they were issued, and preserved them carefully for their descendants. Each generation added to the stock, so that when John Parry

himself began collecting he had in his possession the nucleus of an excellent library.

After Parry's death the collection was bought by Sir John Williams, who himself catalogued the books and kept them apart from the rest of his library, separately labelled as the 'Parry Llanarmon Collection.' They will be so preserved in the National Library as an illustration of the high degree of culture and the love of reading of a Puritan farmer of the nineteenth century. This collection alone contains about 4,000 volumes.

The Library is particularly rich in Bibles, Prayer Books, and Hymnology. Every Welsh Bible printed before 1800, and many of those later, is included. There are two copies of the first Bible, 1588, one, the Shirburn copy, is probably the tallest and finest in existence, and the second is also a very fine one. The Salesbury New Testament, 1567, is also represented by two copies, both perfect and in fine condition. The volume of the Psalms, translated by Bishop Morgan and printed in 1588, the same year as his Bible, is extremely rare, only six copies being known, two of these being in Sir John's library. Still rarer is the translation of the Psalms by Edward Kyffin, printed by Thomas Salesbury in 1603, the only copy known being amongst the treasures transferred to the National Library. Mention has already been made of the earliest Welsh book, 1546, Sir John Price's Primer, which contains the first portions of Scripture ever printed in Welsh, and the 'Kynniver llith a ban,' 1551, containing the Gospels and Epistles for

Sundays and Holydays to be read at the celebration of the Holy Communion.

The Prayer Books are in their way even more notable than the Bibles, as they include, with three quite unimportant exceptions, every issue down to 1800, including the first translation by Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, and William Salesbury, 1567; of this only three other copies are known.

The Library is rich in works by the great writers connected with Wales, and in works dealing with specific periods, such as the Civil War and the Eighteenth Century Revival. Of individual writers there is an extensive series of the works of Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, including first editions of 'Olor Iscanus,' 1654, and 'Hermetical Physic,' 1655, a work translated by Henry Vaughan. Thomas Vaughan, the Silurist's brother, is also well represented, practically all his mystical and magical writings and most of his tracts written during the Civil War being in the Library.

Other important writers fully represented are William Williams of Pantycelyn, the great hymn writer; Rhys Prichard, Vicar of Llandovery, author of 'Canwyll y Cymru'; John Penry, the Breconshire man, who was put to death for his independent views in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and whose books are extremely rare; Morgan Llwyd of Wrexham, the mystic, whose works have just been reprinted in the Guild of Graduates series; John Owen, the epigrammatist; John Davies of Kidwelly, and James Howell. Welsh books are a strong feature of the Library. It contains a very

large number dated before 1800 not to be found in Rowlands' Cambrian Bibliography. The student of purely Welsh literature will find precious and rare and unknown books without end, while the student of the Celtic languages will find books relating to the literature and philology of Gaelic, Irish, Cornish, and Breton.

An interesting feature of the Library is the large number of rare books printed at native presses. From the first press set up in Wales at Adpar, near Newcastle Emlyn, from the Carmarthen printers, the Bodedern Press, the private press set up by Lewis Morris in Anglesey, the Bala printers, the Trevecca Press, the early Pontypool Press, and many others, come rare books, of great value for elucidating the history of literature and printing in Wales.

The Library includes a perfect set of the publications printed by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press. Sir John Williams was one of the original subscribers for the works of this press, and all his copies are in choice condition. He also possessed a good copy of the second folio of Shakespeare.

Of the series of Old Welsh Texts edited and published by Dr. John Gwenogvryn Evans, there is a set printed on the finest vellum. These are amongst the best examples of modern printing, much of the work being done at Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's own press.

Early editions of the works of George Borrow, the versatile genius who wrote 'Wild Wales,' and loved the bards of Wales as he loved its hills, streams, and valleys, are much sought after by collectors, and there are Borrowians who will make journeys to the

National Library expressly to gaze upon and examine the books by and relating to him in the Llanstephan Library. For not only has Sir John been able to secure copies of all the rare editions, but some of them have Borrow's autograph, and the collection includes books from Borrow's own library. Here, for example, is the copy of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems with Borrow's notes, and many other books in Welsh, English, and French which belonged to him.

There is a fine collection of books and MSS. bearing on the Arthurian Romances, the earliest printed book being 'Lancelot du lac,' 1488, with several of the other romances in the Arthurian cycle printed before 1600.

Strong as the Library of Sir John Williams is in books and manuscripts relating to Wales, yet he did not confine his choice too rigidly to Welsh, as his collection of books on Art proves. Fine editions of many choice books are included in this section, including original editions of Blake, Ruskin, and others. There is also a considerable collection of prints and drawings, mainly but not wholly relating to Wales, which includes the entire set of original drawings made by Thomas Rowlandson during a tour in Wales in 1797, and drawings by many other artists who went sketching in Wales during the great period of water-colour art.

In a further article something will be said of the organization of the National Library to adapt it to the peculiar conditions it has to serve, and of the plans for the permanent building.

JOHN BALLINGER.

HUMPHREY DYSON.

BOOKS bearing their owner's names have mostly a certain amount of interest, sometimes historical, sometimes personal. Readers in a good many of our large libraries must have been struck by a modest signature Hum: Dyson: Not: Pub: on Sixteenth and Seventeenth century books. Some of them bear his book-stamp.

There seems to be nothing recorded about Dyson save Mr. Hazlitt's notice of him in his 'Roll of Honour,' which states that he was a notary public and historical antiquary, famous for collecting early English literature and that his books were inherited by Richard Smith, Secondary of the Poultry. Smith did not inherit Dyson's books, but that a great number of them formed the nucleus of his collection cannot be doubted. Mr. Duff in 'THE LIBRARY' for April, 1907, has already said all that can now be discovered about Smith's collection. It is hoped that he will one day write on that of Dyson. Here I am not so much concerned with Dyson's books as desirous of placing on record a few details as to his parentage, life and family. His father I take to be a certain Christopher Dyson, Citizen and Wax-chandler of London, who in his will, proved in 1609, leaves to his wife Mary two-thirds of his property, and to his two youngest

daughters, Judith and Susanna, the remaining third. His wife Mary was his executrix; the overseers of his will were two of his neighbours Mr. Thomas Savage and Mr. Francis Roberts. The will was witnessed by Thomas Savadge and Humfrey Dyson, Notary Publique. The probate act gives the further information that he lived in St. Albans Wood Street parish. My reasons, in addition to their appearance together as testator and witness, for assuming Christopher to be Humfrey's father are, that Humfrey Dyson, as will be seen from his own will below, was also a Wax-chandler, probably by patrimony, and mentions a sister Susan. There can be no shadow of doubt that the Humphrey Dyson the Wax-chandler is the same person as the Humfrey Dyson whose signature appears on so many books and pamphlets in most of our large libraries. On the last day of February, 1632, the will of Humphrey Dyson, Citizen and Wax-chandler of London was proved. He desires, after expressing the usual pious wishes with which it was usual in those days to preface one's last will and testament, to be buried privately without any pomp. His two eldest daughters Anne and Elizabeth have already been advanced in marriage and the money that has been given to them is to be put into 'Hotchpott' with his personal estate according to the custom of the City of London. The marriage portions thus spoken of were, Anne £56 5s., and Elizabeth £80. The bequests may be summarized as follows:

One third of my estate among all my sixe children, vizt., Anne, Elizabeth, Thomas, Edward, Mary, and

I.

L

Tabitha. Elizabeth my now wife was joint purchaser with me of my capital messuage etc. in Wandsworth, co. Surrey which I esteem to be worth £20 yearly, this is to be taken as part of the £60 per annum secured to her. To my grandchild Elizabeth Daines if she shall survive my wife £20. To my grandchild Martha Clarke £20. To my dearly beloved wife Elizabeth Dyson the somme of twentie pounds to buy her mourninge apparrell and other such like necessaries. Item I give vnto her every yeare yearly, on new yeare's daie for soe long tyme as she shall continue my widow and not be married for a new yeares gift and as a remembrance of my love two new tiffinie ruffes or fortie shillings in money at her owne free choice. Alsoe I give unto her on new yeares daie wch shall happen in every third yeare after my decease, if she shall soe long continue and remaine my widowe and not be married a new beaver hatt or three pounds tenne shillings. To my godson Humfrey Blackborne towards his binding forth apprentice the sum of 40s. To my poor kinsman Christopher Jolles and to his sister Jane 40s. each. To my eldest apprentice William Fittonn the last year of his term and to my youngest apprentice Joseph Ferrett the two last years of his term, and I doe hereby charge them to aid my executor in orderinge and layinge vpp of all draughts, presidents, and papers belonging to my profession to thend that they maie be safely kept and preserved, yet neverthelesse for the betteringe of theire owne understandinge and for their greater ease in theire trade and profession (if they follow my calling) my Executors shall permitt them at all reasonable and seasonable tymes to have the free use of any of them, they maie take copies of such of them as they shall thinke fitt desiring god to give them his grace. James Johnson to have his silver cup back on paying 40s. by 5s. a quarter. My Son-in-law Richard Daines not to be charged on his bond. To the Company of Waxchandlers of City of London of whom I am a member a silver and gilt cup

with a cover valued at £5 with my name engraven thereon. After my wife's death my estate to be sold by my friend William Jumper and the proceeds divided among my children. To my sisters Rose Jeeve and Susan Twistleton 40s. each for rings. To William Jumper my executor a silver gilt cup valued at £10 knowing that he will administer my estate from conscience and not for the gift. I earnestly desire him to have a care to put of and sell my bookes to the most profit that he can. I give and bequeath unto my noble friend Sir William Paddy, Knight, to be by him put and given to the library of St. Johns College in Oxford my Statutes at large printed in two great volumes of large paper. To my son Daines my blacke cloke faced with taffaty and my sattin suite. To Elizabeth Winchcombe my maidservant £3. Mr. Robert Bateman to have the best pair of gloves in my study. My wife to have the great bible.

The will is dated 7th January, 1632 (O.S.) and is witnessed by Ralfe Hartley, Katherin Sutton, Joseph Ferrett, Katherine Cotton, and Rebecca Strugnell. The signature agrees with Dyson's usual signature to wills as notary public and with that on the books. His wife was the daughter of Thomas Speght of the Precinct of St. James in the Wall, London, gentleman, for Speght bequeathed on 27th February, 1620, 'To my daughter Elizabeth the wife of Humfrey Dison £40,' and the witnesses to the will are 'Hum. Dyson, Notary publique, the marke of Elizabeth Dyson.' Speght was an editor of Chaucer and Lydgate, and a schoolmaster, and Dyson's wife seems to have been a daughter by a second wife Anne. Sir William Paddy who lived in Wood Street, died at the age of 81, the year after Dyson, leaving his Library to St. John's

College, Oxford, in the chapel of which he desired to be buried. The Mr. Robert Bateman to whom Dyson left the gloves in his study was apparently a bookseller who flourished in London at that time and for some years after. Joseph Ferrett afterwards became a notary public and one of his first clients was his master's old friend, Sir William Paddy, whose will he made on 23rd August, 1634. The name of the other apprentice has not been met with. The clause in the will relating to precedents and drafts, the apprentice following the profession of notary, the signatures and the wife's christian name in both cases alike furnish reasonable proofs that Dyson the wax-chandler and Dyson the notary public, book collector and bibliographer are one and the same person. The reverend gentlemen in whose care the parish registers of the different parishes are, do not readily furnish facilities for search and a letter to the clerk of the Wax-chandler's society met with no answer.

The only other records of the period I have examined are the State Papers Domestic, Patent and Close Rolls. The Close Rolls record the purchase of Dyson's dwelling house and some land in Wandsworth. On 24th May, 4. Charles I., an indenture is made between Sir Thomas Freke of Shrawton, co. Dorset, Knight, and Humphrey Dyson, Citizen and Wax-chandler of London, reciting that on the 18th March, 17. James I., John Mayle of London, Esq., granted to Sir Thomas his messuage and house wherein he then dwelt. Sir Thomas now grants them on payment of £60 to Dyson who now dwells in them. Dyson and Freke are

again, on 22nd April, 5. Charles I., parties with others to carry out the provisions of a former indenture and on the same date there is an indenture between John Monger, citizen and cordwainer of London, a son of Benjamin Monger, late of London, and Mary wife of John on one part and Humphrey Dyson, citizen and wax-chandler of London and Elizabeth his wife on the other part, for the purchase of lands in Wandsworth for £300. In the State Papers Domestic of Charles I., Vol. 240 (25) there is an account of a dispute about a will in which Dyson appears and corroborates evidence given to the effect that the wife of the deceased asked a Dr. Spicer to speak to Humphrey Dyson a scrivener to come and make the decedant's will. Dr. Spicer did so, but Dyson having enquired in what case the decedent was, made answer that he would not make a dead man's will and refused to go. In spite of this evidence in favour of the plaintiffs, judgment was given for the defendant. Dyson had an extensive business. During the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, the whole of James's, and till within a few weeks of his death, his name is met with constantly as the drawer of wills and other documents. He was engaged in a famous lawsuit in the printing world. His son Thomas died the year after his father, unmarried, he is described as citizen and wax-chandler, thus following in the steps of his father and grandfather. His father's affairs had not been settled at his death. Dyson's son Edward described as citizen and apothecary died in the early part of 1649, leaving a wife Arabella and a daughter Mary and probably a

posthumous child. His daughter Elizabeth married Richard Danes and had at least two children Elizabeth and Hester, and his daughters Anne, Mary, and Tabitha married men called Goddard, Clarke, and Butler respectively. He had one other grandchild, Martha Clarke. William Jumper, Dyson's executor, died in March, 1642, and was probably buried in St. Lawrence Jewry where he lived. The parish in which Dyson's father lived, St. Alban, Wood Street, Dyson's parish St. Olave, Old Jewry, Coleman Street Ward, and St. Lawrence Jewry are all contiguous.

The only publications bearing Dyson's name are : 'a Booke containing all such Proclamations as were published during the Rayne of the late Queene Elizabeth,' London, 1618, fol. (this is a list), and Stow's 'Survey of London,' 1633, edited in conjunction with Munday and others. Many of Dyson's books are to be found at the British Museum, several are at Dr. Marsh's library, Dublin, and some were recently sold at Sotheby's. There are five sets of proclamations collected by him, in the British Museum, Privy Council Office, Bodleian, Queen's College, Oxford, and the Society of Antiquaries. In the last set there are many MS. ones, each certified by Dyson as having been seen and compared with the original. In the last half of the Seventeenth century there was a Charles Dyson of Tottenham High Cross, gentleman, who 'was possessed of a large Study of very valuable Bookes of the Law and in other faculties and Sciences' and was also possessed of 'Stocks and Shares in the King's Printing House.' This, with the informa-

tion that he had children named Joshua, *Susanna*, *Elizabeth*, Lucy, Charles, and *Mary*, is taken from a Chancery Suit. The names in italics are common names but they were in use in Dyson's family. There may be no connection between the two men, but the coincidences are curious.

R. L. STEELE.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.



GENERAL dullness seems to have settled down on contemporary belles-lettres. With the exception of Rostand's 'Chantecler,' there is nothing of first rate importance to record. It is unnecessary here to give any general account of 'Chantecler,' or to attempt any general criticism of its content or form. This has already been done in leading English periodicals. But what has perhaps not been so clearly pointed out is that Rostand has revealed to us in this drama the whole of his philosophy of life, a philosophy learned by experience, tempered with the imagination of a poet and a man of genius, by observation, both philosophic and actual, of mankind and of the tendencies of the time. Rostand teaches here the necessity of courage and self-reliance in everyday life, of resistance to such external influences as cosmopolitanism, scepticism, and the tyranny of fashion; he insists that labour and service are, or should be, the lot of all, and that such labour and service must be combined with love of country and respect for family life. It is true that this is no new doctrine; but scarcely ever before have these ideas been clothed in such pure and beautiful poetry, or brought home to us with such telling and delicate irony. The whole of life with its

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 153

duties, its joys, its griefs, its perplexities, its sacrifices, is set before us, and in the inhabitants of the farmyard we see ourselves with our petty vanity, our self-consciousness, our limitations, nay, our blindness, so often a wilful blindness, to truth itself.

'Chantecler' will rank, if not as one of the finest dramas, at least as one of the finest poems that France has produced. The beautiful hymn to the sun, beautiful both in idea, expression, and form, can scarcely be too often quoted.

'Je t'adore! Soleil! ô toi dont la lumière,
Pour bénir chaque front et mûrir chaque miel,
Entrant dans chaque fleur et dans chaque chaumière,
Se divise et demeure entière
Ainsi que l'amour maternel!

Gloire à toi sur les près! Gloire à toi dans les vignes!
Sois béni parmis l'herbe et contre les portails!
Dans les yeux des lézardes et sur l'aile des cygnes!
O toi qui fais les grandes lignes
Et qui fais les petits détails!

Je t'adore! Soleil! Tu mets dans l'air des roses,
Des fleurs dans la source, un dieu dans le buisson!
Tu prends un arbre obscure et tu l'apothéose!
O Soleil! toi sans qui les choses
Ne seraient que ce qu'elles sont!

Like the song of Chantecler, Rostand's poetry 'n'est pas de ces chants qu'on chante en les cherchant.' Whatever we may think of the farmyard setting (and perhaps such remoteness from the human world was necessary to bring home the full

force of the message), the genius with which the poet has carried out his scheme is undeniable. The more we read the book, the oftener we see the play acted, the more beauties we discover in the thought, the language, and the form.

Two studies in literature call for remark here: 'Ronsard. Poète lyrique. Etude historique et littéraire,' by Paul Laumonier, and 'John Keats. Sa vie et son œuvre,' by Lucien Wolff.

Laumonier's work is a very full treatment of the purely lyrical part of Ronsard's achievement, that is of the 'Odes' and 'Chansons.' The sonnets are not dealt with for the reason that the French sixteenth century poets did not as a rule reckon the sonnet among lyrical forms. The introductory chapter is a most informing account of the invention of the French 'ode,' and gives the whole history of 'l'ode grave, l'ode légère, l'ode érotique, l'ode érotico-bachique,' and so on. The genesis and evolution of Ronsard's lyrical work, as well as its sources and originality, are fully described. Ronsard is undoubtedly the greatest of the French lyric poets who flourished before the nineteenth century. He was truly the poet born, for he tells us himself—

Je n'avais pas douze ans, qu'au profond des vallées,
Dans les hautes forêts des hommes reculées,
Dans les antres secrets de frayeur tout couverts,
Sans avoir soin de rien je composais des vers,'

and his latest critic shows what he desired to produce, the means by which he attained his end, and the enduring results of his efforts. Laumonier

declares that in his 'Amours,' his 'Odes légères,' his 'Eglogues,' and his 'Elegies,' Ronsard summed up and developed

'les thèmes lyriques de tous les temps sur la nature extérieure, la beauté, l'ambition, l'amour et la mort; qu'il y a plus d'une fois uni harmonieusement, aussi que dans les *Hymnes*, les *Poèmes* et les *Discours*, l'âme antique et l'âme française . . . que de ses propres aventures, de sensations et d'émotions personnelles, il a su dégager une poésie de caractère général qui est la poésie même de l'humanité; que notamment il a su exprimer, aussi bien que le permettaient à son époque l'idiome et le vers français, les instincts et le roman de la jeunesse universelle, que, somme toute, par sa prodigieuse aptitude à passer "du grave au doux, du plaisant au sévère," par la variété savante de sa rythmique, par le nombre et l'éclat de ses images, par les mouvements lyriques dont son œuvre abonde, par l'étendue, la vigueur et l'influence prolongée de son effort artistique, et malgré ses erreurs de conception ou d'exécution (que l'histoire explique, excuse même dans une certaine mesure), il reste un poète de premier ordre, et, comme l'on dit justement, "l'un des trois ou quatre grands noms de la littérature française."

In a separate volume Laumonier issues a reprint of Claude Binet's life of Ronsard, published in 1586, and furnishes it with a historical and critical introduction and commentary.

Students of literary evolution owe a debt of gratitude to M. Laumonier for his detailed exposition and criticism of a poet the influence of whose work on his successors, not only in his own country, but especially in England, is not always sufficiently recognised in the historical study of poetry.

Wolff's 'Keats' is one of those big volumes that

156 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

now come so often from the French professors of English at the universities of France. It fills 643 large octavo pages. Hitherto there have only appeared in France scattered articles on Keats, or books dealing with a part of his work, and he has been but rarely translated. Thus Wolff relies mainly on English critics for his material and guidance. His book, therefore, though it must reveal much that is new and fresh to his French readers, has less interest for English students of Keats's poetry. Indeed, Wolff frankly states his object to be to awake in the minds of his readers the desire to make acquaintance with Keats's work at first hand.

Those who know their Keats will then care most to learn what is the estimate of the poet formed by his foreign critic, and they will turn to the concluding chapter, entitled '*Le caractère et le génie.*' Keats's genius is there explained by—

'Cette union intime de la sensation, toute chargée de rêve imaginatif, et de la plus magnifique imagination, toute pénétrée de sensation, c'est dans les degrés de cette union, dans les contrastes de ces éléments parfois fondus, parfois distincts, dans leur jeu, dans leurs chatoiement, dans leur valeur relative, dans leurs oppositions verbales, dans leurs rencontres mélodiques, dans leur mutuelle conscience l'un de l'autre, que réside l'essence de son génie.'

All the great qualities of Keats's poetry are derived from that union, and especially its supreme quality, the incomparable force of suggestion that emanates from it. It is the 'unheard' melodies that, according to Wolff, constitute its sweetest part. Wolff thinks, too, that in Keats's early death,

English literature experienced its most severe loss since that of Shakespeare. This is as it may be; but it seems to me an idle speculation to imagine what more a poet might have done had he lived longer. As it takes all sorts of men and women to make up the everyday world, so it takes all sorts of poets to make up the world of great art. The genius of some develops early, of others late. Some, like Keats, 'never stepped in gradual progress,' but 'ensphered himself in twenty perfect years'; others, like Chaucer, Tennyson, and Browning, preserve their vein through a long period of years, always adding to their power of vision and expression. But whatever view we take, we are at one with M. Wolff when he declares—

'Jamais un poète n'a consacré plus exclusivement toutes les forces de son génie à la poésie, n'a vécu plus totalement pour la poésie et par la poésie; jamais poète ne fut plus purement poète.'

M. Wolff has also published in English an essay on Keats's treatment of the heroic rhythm and blank verse. It is a highly technical analysis, and a most detailed examination of Keats's use of those metres.

A few other literary studies deserve brief mention here.

In 'Frédéric Mistral et la littérature provençale,' Henri Schoen attempts to place Mistral in his historic 'milieu,' to present his literary work as a whole, and also in its relation to other poets of the 'Midi,' and to sum up in small space, 'ce-que tout homme cultivé doit savoir sur Mistral et sur ses

158 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

collaborateurs.' No student of French literature can afford to neglect Mistral and his school; and if he has not the time to study the subject in detail, he will find here adequate general information.

Lamartine is a very interesting figure in French literature, and belongs to that rare company who, by their thoughts, feelings, and aspirations raise us above ourselves and persuade us of the nobility of human nature. M. E. Sugier, the author of a new book on Lamartine characterises it as an '*étude morale*.' It is not exactly a piece of literary criticism, but a study of Lamartine's work from the religious, ethical, and psychological point of view. It is to be feared that in the prevailing preference for what people call the real, by which they seem to mean the horrible and the dismal, in art and literature, Lamartine is little read, at least in England. Some of us owe to his '*Confidences*' our earliest introduction to a form of literary expression in which the French excel. M. Auguste Dorchain contributes a preface to this little volume, and that, together with Sugier's study, should go far to remove the neglect of so great an artist in style.

In another division of literature, Alexis de Tocqueville is also little read nowadays. He is a difficult and austere writer, but he saw clearly and exactly the meaning of democracy. He was distinguished among the generation of 1830 as an original personality, and his influence still persists. The '*Essai politique sur Alexis de Tocqueville avec un grand nombre de documents inédits*,' by R. Pierre Marcel is an opportune piece of work, and it would be a good thing if an English version of it could

be placed in the hands of the leaders of English democracy at the present juncture.

Sainte-Beuve said that if an age could be personified in an individual, Agrippa d'Aubigné, poet, historian, and satirist, would be by himself alone the living type, the 'abridgment' of his own epoch. A new study of the soldier and writer has been published by M. S. Rocheblave, who is an ardent worshipper of this indomitable champion of the reformed religion, and sees no defects in his hero. D'Aubigné is a very interesting figure in the history of French poetry, and apart from its strong partisan spirit, this volume may be read and studied with pleasure and profit.

The love-affairs of poets and authors, if too much insisted on, are apt to grow wearisome, and we could well have spared '*La dilecta de Balzac. Balzac et Mme. de Berny 1820-36,*' by Geneviève Ruxton, although Jules Lemaître contributes a preface and praises the book highly. All that we need to know on the subject can be found in already accessible volumes, and it is wasteful and ridiculous excess to multiply such studies. To the same category belongs '*Alfred de Musset. Lettres d'amour à Aimée d'Alton (Mme. Paul de Musset) suivies de poésies inédites 1837-48,*' with an introduction and notes by Léon Séché. The whole story of de Musset's connection with this lady who afterwards became the wife of his brother is scarcely edifying, and the only interest in the letters is their entire difference from those addressed by the poet to George Sand. They illustrate once more how much valuable light is thrown on people's characters

160 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

by the tone of the letters addressed to them, and also the fact that a man may love various women in totally different ways, and for totally different reasons. It is a pity, too, that in 'Marceline Desbordes-Valmore. D'après ses papiers inédits,' the veil is torn aside, and we know now that the man who inspired her beautiful, passionate, touching love poems was a most ordinary person, and by no means worthy of her devotion. But surely it is the poetry that matters to us who are her readers and admirers, the result of the circumstance that awoke the inspiration, not the circumstance itself.

In fiction the custom of concealing the powder in the jam continues, and hardly a novel is written that is not by way of a thesis on some social problem of the day. The phase adds to the general dullness, and we are thankful that we can turn to the older novelists when we need recreation and refreshment. In 'Les dames du Palais,' Colette Yver does for the woman lawyer what she did for the woman doctor in 'Princesses de Science.' Her book is really a tract to show the impossibility of a husband and wife living happily together if both follow the same profession. On the face of it this is very likely to be so, but it does not follow that it must always be so; and indeed husbands and wives, especially in French novels, find so many ways of, and causes for, being unhappy, that we are not convinced by Colette Yver's pleading. The background of the Palais de Justice and its methods of procedure awake a faint interest, but the characters do not live; we see and feel too much the

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 161

author's manipulation of the strings, and those whom the question chances to interest, would do better to study it in some serious treatise.

In the same way in 'La Vague rouge,' J. H. Rosny, aîné, hides under the form and title of a novel a treatise on revolutionary manners and customs, syndicates, and anti-militarism, that is, on present day socialism. The cleverness of his study of the progress of his hero socialist is undeniable; it abounds in rare irony, great insight, and excellent good sense. It is, however, no novel, and would be more truly described as a page of contemporary social history.

There is no notable German fiction to record. In a vogue that has now died out here, an author who prefers to be anonymous has produced a volume entitled 'Prinz Hamlets Briefe.' It has nothing to do with Shakespeare's Hamlet. The Hamlet in question is a crown prince of to-day, heir to a large kingdom, who, on account of some incident in his life, probably a love affair, elects to live far from the court. The letters are written to his mother, who understands and sympathises with him and his views of life. All subjects are touched on: politics, religion, art, literature, agriculture, economics, ethics. It is all very thoughtful and very interesting, and has the note of sincerity so often lacking in books of the kind.

Lily Braun's 'Memoiren einer Sozialistin. Lehrjahre,' fills 657 pages, and is fiction grafted on to a certain proportion of fact. The author calls it a novel, and I suppose we should accept it as such. It is evidently intended to illustrate the present

162 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

socialistic tendencies in Germany, but it is too erotic for a political treatise, and too political for a love-story pure and simple. The heroine, who doubtless represents the author, elects to leave the aristocratic pastures of her forefathers, and to go down into the haunts of the proletariat. There, every man who sees her, immediately falls in love with her, and her struggles with would-be, actual, and past lovers must tend to distract her from the serious business she has voluntarily undertaken of working for the good of the people. The book has had an enormous success in Berlin. Probably the prototypes of the characters are easily recognisable there.

Marcelle Tinayre has left aside fiction for the time, and devoted herself to fact. She has written an account of the late Revolution in Turkey and of life in the harem. The description is written with all the skill of which Mme. Tinayre is mistress, and probably no writer of the present day could have invested such a narrative with equal charm, but all the same, I prefer Mme. Tinayre's fiction, and in my next article shall have something to say of her new novel, 'L'Ombre de l'amour,' which has only just come into my hands.

Sometimes it happens that we learn to know a man by the sentiments he inspires in those around him. The Duchesse de Duras was perhaps the most noble and devoted of all the 'chères amies' of Chateaubriand, and in the study of their relationship just issued by G. Pailhès according to unpublished documents, we learn to know a particular aspect of Chateaubriand better than perhaps ever before.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 163

The Duchesse du Maine was a very different sort of duchess. She is characterised in the subtitle of General de Piépape's biography of her as 'reine de Sceaux et conspiratrice.' She was a granddaughter of the Grand Condé, she conspired against her own country, practised what seventeenth century France called 'la galanterie littéraire,' that is, she gathered round her in her beautiful house at Sceaux the most distinguished literary men and women of the day, and tried to carry on the traditions of the Hôtel Rambouillet. Her personality, it must be confessed, was more curious than sympathetic, and this 'étude à la loupe' only serves to deepen that feeling. Still she held both a political and an intellectual place in the 'haute société' of her time, and numbered among her friends Fontenelle and Voltaire.

Those of us who consider the feminist movement far less novel than it is claimed to be, will find much evidence in support of that view in a curious book recently published, entitled 'Histoire de Clubs de Femmes et des légions d'Amazones 1793—1848—1871,' by Baron Marc de Villiers. There is here an account of all the feminist societies (and they were many) and their leaders from the time of the Revolution down to the Commune. We read of Etta Palm d'Aelders and the society of 'Amies de la Vérité,' of Mme. Robert-Keralio and the 'Sociétés fraternelles des deux sexes,' of the Amazons of the Revolution and of the provincial clubs of 'Citoyennes.' The considerable part played by women in the siege of Paris, and in the disturbances that followed under the Commune are

164 RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

fully described. It is all most interesting and instructive, especially in showing, though the author of course had no such intention, that there is nothing particularly new in the tactics of latter-day adherents of women's rights.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Rachel et son temps. Par A. de Faucigny-Lucinge.

A new short biography of the great actress.

Excentriques et aventuriers de divers pays. Essais biographiques d'après des documents nouveaux. Par Teodor de Wyzewa.

Reviews of books dealing with queer characters of all nations. It includes three Renaissance travellers, and makes altogether amusing reading.

Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne 1500-1900. Tome 2. Dix-septième siècle.

The second volume of a most useful and well carried out book of reference.

Peter Vischer et la sculpture franconienne du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle. Par Louis Réau.

Benozzo Gozzoli. Par Urbain Mengin.

Two new volumes in the useful and well-written and well-illustrated series entitled 'Les maîtres d'Art.'

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE. 165

Vie de Saint François de Sales évêque et Prince de Genève. Par M. Hamon.

A new edition in 2 vols., entirely revised by M. Gonthier and M. Letourneau.

Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens. Von P. Dr. Heribert Holzapfel.

Probably the fullest modern book on the subject.

Turenne en Alsace. Campagne de 1674-5. Par Général Legrand-Girarde.

An account of the campaign on broad lines with special reference to the character of Turenne.

Histoire abrégée des peuples de la Russie, 862-1894. Par le Contre-Amiral d'Abnour.

The chronology adopted by the historians of Russia is followed as far as possible. It is a very useful sketch, and impartial; events are not commented on but described.

Les Sentiments esthétiques. Par Charles Lalo.

A contribution to what may be called the scientific aspect of æstheticism. The action of the feelings in æsthetics, though very real, is undetermined, like that of a powerful motor, which directs or organizes nothing by itself. And thus any excess in the personal attitude, or the borrowed attitude, or in the general conception of life diminishes 'la valeur d'art.'

Dieu et Science, essais de psychologie des Sciences. Par Elie de Cyon.

Treats of time and space, body, soul, and mind, God and man. This and the last-named book belong to the series known as the Bibliothèque de philosophie contemporaine.

ELIZABETH LEE.

THE FORMATION OF THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

FURTHER NOTES.

IN January and July, 1902, I contributed to 'THE LIBRARY' two articles on Humphrey Wanley and the formation of the Harleian Library, and, as a result of those articles, Mr. C. A. Blake has very kindly placed at my disposal an interesting memorandum book of Nathaniel Noel, the bookseller, auctioneer and importer of books, through whom for many years Wanley obtained books and manuscripts for Lord Harley. Unfortunately the record consists chiefly of entries of the parcels delivered and the prices paid for them; and does not often mention individual books or MSS., but it throws an interesting light upon the way in which the books were acquired, and the amount of money expended, between 1715 and 1728.

The first memorandum gives a full list of the books sold on 17th November, 1715, as follows:

Fol.	Hammonds Works.	4 vol.	.	.	4	0	0
	Tullij.	3 vol.	Ed. prin.	.	17	4	0
	Corn Agrippa.	.	.	.	10	0	
	Ingheramj Etrusc. Antiq..	.	.	.	1	10	0
	Le Bib[liotheque] d'Ant. du Verdier.	2	3	0			
	Iconologie	.	.	.	1	10	0
	Fastos Temmp p̄ Goltius	.	.	.	1	10	0

THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY. 167

4.	Duplex de Nummis	.	.	.	5	0
	De Alchimea Opuscula	.	.	.	5	0
	Severinus de Monstris.	4	vol.	.	1	1 0
8.	Tigurinus de Spectris	.	.	.	0	3 0
	Wotton of Learning	.	.	.	0	3 0
	Artemidorus	.	.	.	0	5 0
	Rays Meth. Plantar.	.	.	.	2	6
	— Catalog. Plant.	.	.	.	2	0

But after this the entries begin to be of a more wholesale character and the following may be taken as average specimens:

1715						
Dec. 17.	Dr. Hicks's Library and others:					
	Folios at a guinea	.	129	£138	13	6
	Quart. & Octavo	.	1119	335	14	0
1716						
Jan. 6.	Dr. B. Kennet's					
	Folio	.	.	60	64	10 0
	Quarto & Oct.	.	425	127	10	0
Feb. 3.	Dr. Kennet's Prints & D.					
		.	.	60	0	0
May 6.	From Theoph. Dorrington Lib.					
	Fol.	.	.	7	7	10 6
	Quarto & Octavo	.	152	45	12	0
June 6.	A Parcel of Books & MSS.					
	delivered to Mr. Wanley					
	by agremt. from abroad	.	.	60	0	0
June 27.	Heraldical MSS.					
		.	.	86	0	0
July 17.	7 Folios which came from					
	Dunkirk	.	.	7	10	6
August 10.	From Dr. Hutton's Library					
	& others					
	Folio	.	.	22	23	13 0
	Quarto & Octavo	.	209	62	14	0
Sept. 9.	Arch. D. Baynard's Lib.					
	Fol.	.	.	1	6	15 6
	Quart. & Oct.	.	19			

It is interesting to note the large purchases from the libraries of Dr. George Hickes, the Nonjuror, of Dr. Basil Kennett, younger brother of the Bishop of Peterborough and a miscellaneous writer of considerable reputation in his day, and of Theophilus Dorrington, the controversialist. These three notable men all died in 1715. Dr. Matthew Hutton was a great collector of manuscripts, who died in 1711.

The prices are very curious, for with the exception of works of recognized rarity or containing fine illustrations, the books are priced according to size, and the rates for folios a pound or a guinea, for quartos six shillings, and for octavos three shillings, obtain throughout.

On 17th October, 1716, four large cases were sent to Wimpole, containing 8vo. books, at size prices, also 'a parcel of curious books' for £100, and three famous incunabula (all from the press of Fust and Schoeffer at Mainz): 'Durandj Rat. Divinae,' 1459; 'Ciceronis in Officijs,' 1466; and 'Justinianj Inst.,' 1468, for the lump sum of £80 12s. od.; a parcel of MSS. £21 10s. od., and prints and drawings £50. Wimpole was at that time in the possession of Lord Oxford, whose wife had recently inherited it as heiress of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle; it was sold by Lord Oxford to Lord Hardwicke in 1740.

On the 29th of December 'a parcel of prints and drawings and a large parcel of fine books,' for £250, were delivered at Bath Court, St. James's, Lord Harley's town residence, and similar parcels continued to be delivered at that address until

16th July, 1717. It will be remembered that Lord Harley was in the Tower from 9th July, 1715, to 1st July, 1717, in consequence of his impeachment for disaffection to the Hanoverian Government. The consignment delivered on 1st May, 1717, consisted of 'a parcel of prints and drawings £150, a parcel of books £50 and The Garden of Health in Velom with fine minatures £21 10 0' and 'The works of Calot & Steph. de la Belle £21 10 0.' On 10th June, a 'Catholicon' £20, no doubt the Mainz edition of 1460.

On 30th January, 1718, occurs the first statement of account:

'This day an account was stated between the Right Honble. the Ld. Harley and me and the account on examination stands as follows:

Due	2451 16 6
Received from His Lordship	1917 11 0
Remains due on the ballance	534 5 6
	NATH NOEL.'

It is vouched by Wanley thus: 'Considering my Mortality, I do hereby testifie that the Balance of the Accompt between my Lord Harley & Mr. Noel, doth now stand due to Mr. Noel in the sum of £534 05 06. In case my said Lord shall allow of the said Accompt so stated by Mr. Noel & my self.

Humfrey Wanley.'

In February, 1718, came small parcels of books from the libraries of Mr. Hays, Mr. Lain, Archbishop Tenison and Mr. Byrom; and in March, a parcel from the library of Dr. South, to the value of £159 12s.

On 22nd October, 1718, Mr. Noel credits Lord

Oxford with the sum of £500 for 'a parcel of books which came from Welbeck.' This historic seat came into Lord Oxford's possession, in right of his wife, daughter and heiress of the Duke of Newcastle, in 1713, and so with Wanley's help, he evidently overhauled the library. Welbeck passed to Lord Oxford's daughter, and thus to her husband, William, Duke of Portland, in 1734.

Some of the largest transactions were at the end of the period covered by the account book. On 18th January, 1724, arrived 'a parcel of Manuscripts and Printed Books for £1450,' and on the same day 'another parcel of books' for £108 18s. Wanley certifies this transaction, and the memorandum of 20th January that 'all the above were delivered in a cart at his Lordship's house' is signed by the two carmen.

The following entry under date of 12th August, 1724, is in Wanley's handwriting. 'This day my Lord Oxford Agreed with Mr. Noel touching the value of divers Parcels of Books; namely some few Books of Capt. Williams's . . . for some modern MSS. concerning the business of the Board of Ordnance; for MSS. & Books of the late Mr. Harcourt of Penley; & for a Parcel of MSS. Books, &c. which lately arrived from beyond the Seas; that the full value of these said Parcels shall be & is fixed at Six Hundred Pounds.' It is countersigned: 'I allow this account to be a true one. Oxford.' Accounts were again balanced on 25th March, 1725, when Lord Oxford owed Mr. Noel £2000. This is immediately followed by the last entries in the book:

26th July, 1728. 'Sold to the Right Honorable The Earl of Oxford a large Parcel of Manuscripts, books printed on vellum and on paper, for which his Lordship agreed to pay me the sum of One Thousand Eight Hundred pounds for the said Manuscripts and Books.'

'N.B. on July the 12th, 1729 I settled accounts with the Earl of Oxford and there was due to me the sum of One Thousand pounds over and above the two Thousand for which I have received his Lordship's Bonds for a Thousand pounds Each. I likewise received on the settling this acct. another Bond of his Lordship for One Thousand Pounds.'

The total amount paid by Lord Harley to Mr. Noel was £10,814 in money, and about £650 in books.

At the other end of the book are notes of three parcels delivered to the Earl of Sunderland, amounting in all to £610. The parcels contained for the most part fine editions of the Latin Classics.

G. F. BARWICK.

THE FOULIS PRESS.

SCOTTISH books printed anterior to 1700 have little artistic interest for the bibliographer. Not till we are well past the period at which Messrs. Dickson and Edmond ended their survey do we come into an epoch fairly rich in examples of typographic artistry. James Watson, whose folio Bible of 1722 was acclaimed at the Caxton Exhibition as 'perhaps the finest book ever printed in Scotland,' was the herald of the new era in northern printing. This era saw the opening in Glasgow of two printing establishments, Urie's and Foulis's, from which for a generation were issued works perhaps unexcelled from the dual points of view of beautiful typography and scholarly accuracy. But all along the Foulis press was well in advance of its local rival in reputation and achievement. Its aims were consistently higher.

Robert Foulis, with whose name the press is principally associated, was born in or near Glasgow on 20th April, 1707. Andrew his brother, who from 1746 was declared by imprint to be his partner ('Theocriti quae extant,' 1746), was born five years later, on 23rd November, 1712. Their father was a maltman in Glasgow, and his name is usually given in Foulis records as Andrew Faulls. It was probably he who was enrolled a member

of the Incorporation of Maltmen on 16th August, 1706, but in the Roll of the Incorporation as given by Mr. Douie in his 'Chronicles of the Maltman Craft,' the name is spelled 'Faulds,' and this is the spelling of the name on the contemporary burghess tickets exhibited in the Glasgow Memorials section of the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow.

The maiden name of the mother was Marion Pattersoun, and from her the brothers are said to have received most of their early training. She seems, says Mr. W. J. Duncan, to have been a woman of strong character and of more than ordinary attainment. While still a boy Robert was apprenticed to a barber, and it was during his apprenticeship to this uninspiring occupation that he became acquainted with the great Dr. Francis Hutcheson, then Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University. The learned Professor persuaded Robert to attend his classes in the University. In the Maitland Club's 'Munimenta Univ. Glasg.,' no record is shown that he did so, but Andrew's name appears under date November 14th, 1727, as a member of Professor Ross's class.¹ Andrew was being prepared for the ministry (which he never entered) and after completing his course is said to have done some teaching in classics, French and the various branches of philosophy then taught at the University.² His classical knowledge came in useful at a later period in assisting Robert in the correction of the issues of Greek and Latin classics.

¹ 'Munimenta alme Universitatis Glasguensis,' Vol. III., p. 235.

² 'Notices and Documents Illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow,' p. 10.

It was the friendly Dr. Hutcheson who inspired Robert Foulis to become a bookseller and printer. That he was advised to choose such a career proves that he had made considerable progress educationally, for the printer of classical texts (and it was to be this that Robert apparently aspired) was required to possess a knowledge of Latin and Greek, as well as an acquaintance with the literatures of those languages and modern editions of classical texts. He was in some cases his own corrector, proof-reader, and editor.¹ In our time the combination of the classical scholar and practical printer has been rare, quite in contrast to the times of the Aldi, Stephani, and Dolet, when the principals of printing houses were among the chief scholars of their times.

Ere starting printing in an establishment of his own, Robert Foulis 'attended' says Duncan, 'a printing house in Glasgow for a short time.' The printing house may have been that of Robert Urie and Company, who printed in the Gallowgait. The fact that later Robert Urie and Co. printed a few books for Foulis would seem to support the suggested earlier association. But conclusive information has so far not been obtained, and as there were some half-dozen printers in the city about this time, the matter may be left an open question. It does not seem possible to say exactly when this typographical assistantship was served,

¹ In the Preface to Watson's 'History of Printing,' it is indicated that at that time [1713] few, if any, Scottish printing houses kept a corrector: p. 20. The Foulises had help in correcting the classical issues from University professors.

but it was almost certainly before the brothers went abroad for the second time in 1739, as on this occasion Robert was able to judge qualities and kinds of types.

The first Continental visit of the brothers was made in 1738. *En route* they visited Oxford and its University, and then crossing over to France, stayed in Paris for about a month. They had brought with them important letters from Glasgow, one being from the University to the heads of the Scots College at Paris. On their return home they were the bearers of a friendly communication from the Scots College to the Glasgow University. A couple of interesting letters penned in relation to this visit appear in the 'Scots Magazine' for 1822. The writer of the letters was the well-known Jacobite, Thomas Innes, of the Scots College, author of the 'Critical Essay on the Antient Inhabitants of Scotland,' and his correspondent was Mr. James Edgar, secretary to the Chevalier de St. George, at Rome. The first letter bears date 29th September, 1738. It is of very great value as showing the characters of the brothers at this time, and as illustrating the esteem in which they were held by the Faculty of Glasgow University. After the usual salutations, Innes remarks:

'As to our Glasgow gentlemen, they are brothers, of the name of Foulis, both young men of very good parts. They set off chiefly for the Belles-Lettres, and seem to design to be Professors of that, in the University of Glasgo (*sic*), or perhaps to be governors or tutors to young noblemen, for which last employment they seem to be very well cutout,

in their own way, having very good parts and talents, very moderate, and making morality their chief study and application, and in that they seem to have made good progress already, according to their notions of it; taking for their guides, among the antients, Epictetus, Seneca, Cicero's Offices; among the moderns, M. de Cambray's (Fénelon's) works, and even some of our other writers, S. Trap, de Galey, S. Thersa (*sic*), and some others, upon piety and morality, to which they seem to reduce all . . . The chief person they keep in, and were recommended to, from Glasgow, is Chevalier Ramsay; and he, being out of town with the young Prince, his pupil, they have been the oftener with us. They are now going to Fountainbleau, and Orleans, to see the Court and country, and are to go home soon after their return here.'

The second letter is dated Paris, 27th October, 1738, and gives some details as to the doings of the Foulises in Paris, and continues the outline of their characters: 'Messieurs Foulis, the two Glasgow gentlemen, parted from this 4 or 5 days ago, to return home by London, carrying along with them no less than 6 or 7 hogsheads of books, which they had bought up here . . . We have had more occasion to converse frequently with them since my last of 29th September, having had them often to dine here with us, and have had daily more occasion to be confirmed in what we wrote to you, that their damning principle is Latitudinarian, or an universal tolerantisme . . . the chief employment they have in view is to teach the young gentry those knowledges which become most young quality, such as

Language, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, etc. all which these two gentlemen have endeavoured to attain to, as also Philosophy, Mathematicks, Etc.'

From the above quotations it is clear that Innes believed that tutoring inside or outside of the University was the object of the two brothers. But that the brothers had at this time other views is apparent from a letter found among Lord Buchan's papers, and quoted in the Maitland Club's 'Literary Notices of Glasgow,' p. 17. Referring to this visit of 1738 and a second paid in 1739, Robert wrote: 'we contented ourselves with importing old editions of Greek and Latin Authors, which were very much wanted at that time in Scotland.' This explains the bringing over of the 6 or 7 hogsheads of books referred to by Innes in his first letter, as quoted.

The principal studies of the brothers while on the Continent were in classical literature and in the examination and collation of MSS. They also studied the various types used by the continental printers, and probably visited the large printing-houses. When they finally set up as printers, their Greek type, as used in the famous folio Homer, was modelled on that of the Stephani.¹

Shortly after the return of the brothers to Glasgow, Robert opened an establishment as a bookseller, and later added publishing to the enterprise, with Urie and Co. as printers, as already

¹ Preface to Folio Homer: 'Iliad.' The types were cut by Alexander Wilson, to whom high testimony is given by the writers of the preface.

stated. This establishment soon became the resort of students of cultured tastes, who either liked to talk about or look at books. It was here that Professor Richardson and other eminent men met with Robert, and the friendships thus begun were lasting.

The exact year in which Robert opened this establishment is difficult to ascertain, there being no original evidence to go by, nor agreement among authorities as to the date. The majority of writers including Macvane,¹ Professor Ferguson,² Mr. W. B. Laikie,³ and Duncan⁴ give 1741; others including Mason⁵ and Anderson,⁶ give 1739; while others again give 1740. It is most likely that the year was 1739, as by this time the brothers had made the two visits to the Continent, already mentioned, bringing back with them large numbers of books.

By 1741, if not earlier, Robert Foulis was nominally under the patronage of the University. The point is certain from the fact that 'The Plan of Education' by the Chevalier Ramsay, published in a third edition by Foulis in 1741, contains in its imprint the statement: 'Printed for Robert Foulis, within the College.' This would show that Foulis

¹ See Macvane's Notes on Glasgow Printing in his edition of McUre's 'History of Glasgow.' The Notes are reprinted in the 1886 edition of the 'Literary Notices,' pp. 150-5.

² 'The Brothers Foulis and Early Glasgow Printing,' ('THE LIBRARY,' 1889, Vol. I.)

³ 'Glasgow Herald,' 21st November, 1908.

⁴ 'Literary Notices,' p. 12.

⁵ 'Public and Private Libraries of Glasgow,' p. 149.

⁶ 'Scottish Nation,' Vol. II.

did not get academic support merely on account of his capacity to accomplish fine printing.¹

Till 1741, Robert Foulis remained bookseller only, but in this year we find him publishing several works of some importance. Urie and Co. are believed, as we have stated, to have printed all the early Foulis publications, though all do not contain Urie's name as printer. Urie's printing at this time and later compared favourably with that of the contemporary Scottish printers. Some of his issues are equal to the best traditions of the Glasgow press. The relations of Foulis as publisher and Urie as printer may be understood from the imprint to an edition of Phaedrus printed by Urie and Co. and published by Foulis in 1741, which reads: 'Curâ et impensis Roberti Foulis.' Among the other books printed by Urie and Co. for Foulis may be mentioned editions of Thomas à Kempis, Cicero, Leechman's 'Sermon,' Burnet's 'Life of Rochester,' and Mear's 'Catechism.' An edition of 'Terence' in 1742 is a creditable example of Urie's printing. Several of the above were advertised by Foulis in the 'Glasgow Journal.' It may be observed that there was no particular leaning to the classical side in the early Foulis publishing. From 1741 to 1744 the proportion of classical to general issues was as about equal; but from 1745 to 1748 the proportion was as 2 to 1. This change indicates

¹ The support mentioned—that of being allowed accommodation 'within the College' was not an unique honour by any means. At one time (some 30 or so years earlier) 'the College (was) almost an asylum for printers.' (Stewart: *Printers to the University*—'Scot. Hist. Review,' Vol. I., 1904).

the quarter from which the press was receiving most support.

By 1742 Robert had started printing, in conjunction with his bookselling and publishing. The exact date has been disputed, however. Appended to the entry of Cicero's 'De Natura Deorum' in the Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition of 1894 there is a note: 'Robert Foulis began printing in 1741.' Reed in his 'Old English Letter Foundries' gives the date as 1740. Gibson's 'History of Glasgow,' printed by the executors of Robert Foulis the year following his death, also gives 1740. But no Foulis printed book we have come upon bears a date earlier than 1742.

Early in the career of the press Robert Foulis made a move to capture the most important part of the printing trade in the city—that done for and by the University. Since the establishment of the earliest press in Glasgow, the University authorities had had trouble with local printers, and were only too willing to give support to a good typographer. Foulis had probably little difficulty in getting a hearing for an application that he be made University printer, and an entry in the minute-books of the University dated 31st March, 1743, records the Senate's approval and his appointment. The entry states that Foulis had 'provided himself with fine types both Greek and Latin,'—probably cut by Messrs. Wilson and Baine, the owners of a letter foundry that was to play an important part in the Foulis enterprise.

In this same year, 1743, Robert Foulis paid his third visit to France 'to try' as he said 'the fortune

of our first essays in Greek and Latin Printing, partly to bring home some Manuscripts, partly to collectt (*sic*) more ancient authors, and to have brought a single Graver, if a good one could have been had on reasonable terms.' A fourth visit took place in 1751, when he went to Holland.

The conferment in 1743 of the title of University Printer, besides giving to the Foulis press a distinction above its rivals, seems actually to have given it success. It was probably owing to its increasing business that Andrew Foulis threw¹ in his lot with Robert in 1746. The partnership date is given in the Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition as 1747, but as has been mentioned earlier, an edition of 'Theocritus' bearing the familiar partnership imprint is dated 1746. A copy of the work is in the Mitchell Library. It should be mentioned, however, that some books printed later than 1746 bear Robert's name only. Examples are 'The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq.' Vol. I.-IV., 1747-9, and Hutcheson's 'Introduction to Moral Philosophy,' 1747. Mr. Macvewan has noticed that some copies of the 1744 'Plutarchus de Superstitione, etc' bear the partnership imprint, and it is probably this circumstance that led Mr. Plomer to give the partnership date as 1744 in his 'Short History of English Printing.' But considering that this edition of the 'De Superstitione' was not published till 1756 (*vide* Macvewan's Catalogue)¹ might the suggestion that certain copies were given

¹ It has been noted by this authority that some copies bear the name of Robert only,—others those of R. and A. Foulis. 'Literary Notices,' p. 51, note to entry 38.

new title-pages not be correct? There is really a danger of inferring too much from Foulis title-pages, considering that it was the occasional practice of the brothers to print new title-pages for remainders, re-issuing them as reprints or new editions. Dr. David Murray made references to this in a recent article on 'The Glasgow Press and Milton' ('Glasgow Herald,' Jany. 1909). But the practice, it is needless to say, was not of Foulis origin. The 'Heires of Andro Hart' had resorted to it long before, as may be inferred from a collation of existing copies of Boyd's 'Last Battell of the Soule in Death,' given in Mason's 'Libraries of Glasgow' pp. 26-7.

From a good local connection as 'Academiae Typographi,' the brothers soon began to attain a fair circulation for their publications outside the city. They entered for competitions organised by the Edinburgh Select Society, and were successful in winning medals for their printed work, and they soon obtained a reputation throughout the country for the elegant and accurate editions of the classics put out under their supervision. In their efforts they were ably seconded by a host of friends, through whom they had even influence at Court. Considering that certain of those friends had a direct connection with the press and helped to influence its destinies, perhaps a note regarding them may not be inappropriate here. For

'In companions

That do converse and spend the time together

There needs must be a like proportion

Of lineament, of manner, and of spirit !'

The connection made with the University in 1743

had brought the Foulises into touch with most of the Professors. Many of these they had already met, we may assume, in the bookshop. The friendships of the brothers with these gentlemen were still further cemented through the 'Literary Society of Glasgow' started in 1752. Both Robert and Andrew spoke at the meetings of this Society many times, and the list of subjects, as printed, show that they took all knowledge for their province.¹ One of the most constant friends of the brothers was Professor James Moor, the celebrated Grecian. Latterly he became brother-in-law to Robert Foulis. For a long period he helped the Foulises in the production of their classical issues, and through them he published one or two noted books on the Greek language. The first Foulis issue he is believed to have had a hand in producing, was the 1742 edition of the 'Meditations' of Marcus Aurelius. The first two books were translated by Moor, and the other ten by Dr. Hutcheson. The notes are believed to have been the joint-work of Moor and Hutcheson, but they may have had some help in them from Robert Foulis, who, as we know from Thomas Innes's letters, was a keen student of the stoic philosophy. There is an interesting note by Gabriel Neil as to this work in a copy now, or recently, in the possession of Councillor Dr. Maclean of Glasgow. Dr. Hutcheson, as we have already indicated, was perhaps the real originator of the press, and he seems always to have stood to the brothers in much the same relation as the famous author of the

¹ 'Literary Notices,' p. 132 *et seq.*

'Aberdeen Breviary' stood to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, Scotland's first struggling printers. Adam Smith, whose 'Wealth of Nations' so revolutionised economic theories, had an interesting literary connection with the Foulises, as editor of a pirated edition of Hamilton of Bangour's poems, issued in 1748. Robert Simson, the mathematician, whose edition of Euclid is even to-day the standard text, took a lively interest in the press, Foulis being his publisher. He was a signatory to the deed of appointment of Robert Foulis to be University Printer. Mr. (later Sir) John Dalrymple encouraged the enterprise, and when he later removed to Edinburgh, he remained a correspondent of Robert, contributing in various ways to the brothers' success. Other influential persons with whom they became acquainted were the Chevalier Ramsay, through whose help they obtained access to French libraries, and for whom they printed; the Rt. Hon. Charles Townshend, who laboured to persuade them to forgo their intention to start an Art Academy; the contemporary Duke of Argyle; the Earl and Countess of Northumberland who helped the brothers by purchasing their books and prints; the Earl of Buchan; Beattie the Minstrel; Thomas Gray the poet; and many others whose names would be quite familiar were they mentioned.

The Academy of the Fine Arts which has been already mentioned was started in 1753. We must here again refer to it, as it caused the brothers to neglect the press, and may be said to have ultimately caused its decline. For years the brothers had been accumulating knowledge and materials with a view

to its inauguration, though they do not seem to have received much encouragement from any influential quarter. 'There seemed' said Robert, 'to be a pretty general emulation who should run it most down.' His friend, Mr. Havrock, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland, writing to him on 20th December, 1753, says: 'My Lady (Northumberland) will be glad to see your Prints when finished; but I cannot help thinking that my Lord is of my opinion, that a correct and well-printed book would be more agreeable to us from your Press than anything else. These will ornament, and with great lustre too, as well as real profit, the Libraries of Popes and Princes, while your Prints lie mouldering in a Dusty Corner. Correct Printing, in an elegant form, is, I own, both laborious and expensive, but then it has an intrinsic merit which stamps a value upon it and the Printer to future ages; and the Book must be esteemed as long as Reading is in fashion. Elzevir was once in high esteem, and even so late as my time. For what? for the beauty of his types,—but now our young men find him so very incorrect that they use him chiefly both at Schools and Colleges in certain remote places where people may read a page before they apply the leaf properly. I shall be very glad to see your Tacitus, Etc. when they come abroad . . . I really believe from what I have seen and heard, that not only the D.(uke) of Argyle, but all men of Sense, wish you more success in Printing than in Painting and Sculpture . . . Print for posterity and prosper.'

The Foulises were not guided by their advisers, eminent though these were. The solicitous counsel

of Townshend which moved Andrew to tears, had no influence on Robert. The enterprise was proceeded with and upheld during some twenty-two years, but almost from its origin it was quite obviously a failing venture. Nevertheless it gave to the world artists who attained considerable distinction, as David Allan, 'The Scottish Hogarth,' and Tassie the elder, medallist. The death of Andrew in 1775 seems to have decided Robert to close it. Andrew's death was sudden. He had gone up with 'a stranger to the high ground adjoining the ancient residence of the family of Montrose' (presumably the Duke's Lodgings in Drygait says Dr. Murray)¹ 'for having a complete view of the city' when he was seized with a fatal apoplectic fit.² The following year Robert got together the pictures and specimens of sculpture and repaired with them to London, intending to exhibit them there. He arrived at a bad time, and the exhibition was a dismal failure. It was decided to sell the collection by auction. Christie advised him that the time was not opportune, but Robert was anxious to realise his wares, so the sale proceeded. The financial results brought him in barely sufficient to meet immediate needs. Leaving London, he reached Edinburgh on 2nd June, 1776. Not desiring to waste any time in meeting his creditors, he early endeavoured to push on to Glasgow, and it was while in the midst of this preparation that he suddenly expired.³ In his

¹ 'Early Burgh Organization in Scotland' (Proc. Roy. Phil. Soc. Glas.), Vol. XXXIX., 1907-8, p. 59, *note*.

² 'Scots Magazine,' 1775, p. 526.

³ *Ibid.*, 1776, p. 340.

aspiration in art, as related to his Academy, Foulis was born before his time. It is his art in his own business as a printer that will give him the immortality of fame he merits.

The Foulis establishment in Shuttle Street, Glasgow, was advertised for sale on 31st October, 1782. In the same year advertisements appeared in the 'Glasgow Mercury' as to the winding-up of the affairs of the Messrs. Foulis. Messrs. Chapman and Duncan, Glasgow printers, had charge of this.

The characters of the Foulises when comparatively young men have been outlined for us by Thomas Innes in the two letters already quoted. Their constancy to one another may suitably be illustrated by a pen portrait of the younger Wodrow in a letter to the Earl of Buchan.¹ 'The two Foulis' says Wodrow, 'in spite of their poverty and birth were *par nobile fratrum*. I never indeed saw a more affectionate pair. They seem to have been made for one another. Though similar in their good dispositions, they were totally opposite in their genius or peculiar turn of mind. Neither of them, when separated from the other, could have done much for himself or the world.' Like most Glasgow men of the old school, they seem to have lived in an atmosphere of argument, in which they took a lively part. A note of Boswell's regarding Dr. Samuel Johnson's encounter with the brothers seems to indicate that the learned Doctor instead of bullying, had to submit to being bullied. 'Professors Reid and Anderson, and the two Messieurs Foulis, the Elzevirs of Glasgow, dined and drank

¹ Quoted in 'Literary Notices,' p. 37.

tea with us at our inn, after which, the professors went away; and I, having a letter to write, left my fellow traveller with Messieurs Foulis. Though good and ingenious men, they had that unsettled speculative mode of conversation which is offensive to a man regularly taught at an English school and University. I found that, instead of listening to the dictates of the sage, they had teased him with questions and doubtful disputations. He came in a flutter to me and desired I might come back again, for he could not bear these men. "Oho! sir," said I, "you are flying to me for refuge!" He answered with a quick vivacity "It is of two evils choosing the least." It would be pleasant to know what the brothers thought of the sage.

Andrew Foulis seems to have been the more commercially inclined of the brothers. From 1753 he undertook the superintendence of the printing, bookselling, and bookbinding departments, and it may here be mentioned that the Foulis bindings were creditably done. Besides all this he held every evening in winter an auction of books, and on occasions when Andrew could not officiate, Robert sometimes took his place. As to these times when Robert had to mount the rostrum in Andrew's absence, one or two characteristic incidents have been told by Professor Richardson. When the auction clerk would hand up a book Robert would not only announce the title, but would continue an extemporaneous harangue upon its merits and contents. 'Tom Jones' he would not sell, because 'improper for the perusal of young persons.' Rather than see a needy student go away

without a copy of Marcus Aurelius, which he seemed to desire, Robert presented him with one. But such opportunities as these for displaying his generosity were not often afforded, for Andrew, aware of his propensities, hastened to disengage himself, and exercising partly in jest and partly in earnest an authority which on other occasions he rarely claimed, would say, 'Come down, Robin, that place and that business are not for you.' And Robin would good-naturedly give place to his more commercially gifted brother. This auctioneering work of the brothers seems to have been an extensive side of their business. During the thirty odd years of the firm's existence there were published at least half-a-dozen catalogues of auction stock, and these included large private libraries.

The Foulis Press was almost continuously associated with Glasgow from 1742 to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and copies of the large majority of the issues are preserved in excellent order and condition in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. After the death of Robert in 1776, the business lapsed, but within a short period we find Andrew the younger, son of Robert, engaged printing as *Academiae Typographus*. He continued the policy of the press, issuing mainly classical works, and he seems to have endeavoured to maintain the dignity of the earlier firm. This last phase of the Foulis Press may serve as subject for a future paper.

ROBERT D. MACLEOD.

THE LIBRARIANS OF THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT FONTAINEBLEAU.

THE interest attaching to the Librarians of the Royal Library in France dates from the creation of the official post 'Maître de la Librairie du Roi' by François I. in 1522. Before that time the staff of the King's Library consisted of a curator and several copyists, and was drawn from a class that had no great pretensions to literature and learning. The new appointment, on the other hand, was much sought after by scholars and came to be regarded as the highest literary prize in the kingdom. The duties were light, personal care and administration being relegated to the keeper or sub-librarian who was called 'Garde de la Librairie du Roi,' and the salary of 1200 livres, or about £110 sterling, was not to be despised in those days. This increase in the importance of the royal library originated in the King's desire to possess a collection of books, emulating in number, value and interest those in the libraries of the Pope, the Republic of Venice and the Medici family. The material which François I. found ready to hand as a nucleus for the new library had been treasured by Louis XII. at Blois after a chequered career from the time of Charles V. Charles installed some of his books at

THE LIBRARY AT FONTAINEBLEAU. 191

Fontainebleau in 1363, but four years later established the Library of the Louvre which in 1373 numbered 910 volumes, and formed the more important section of the royal collection. In 1423 the Fontainebleau Library, which had contained as many as 1200 books, was reduced to 853. Louis XI. gathered together the scattered volumes from various quarters and improved the Louvre Library. In the reign of Charles VIII., owing to the introduction of printing, the number of works in the Royal library increased rapidly. Louis XII. removed it bodily to his favourite residence Blois, where it remained until François I. restored Fontainebleau and made this palace the headquarters for himself and his books. Father Dan states in '*Le Trésor des Merveilles de la Maison Royale de Fontainebleau*,' that the books were at first in the charge of a savant, Pierre Gilles, who certainly assisted in obtaining valuable additions to the library from abroad, but the Greek scholar, Guillaume Budé, was the first librarian who took the official title and he, aided by Jean Lascaris, was instrumental in gathering together more than three hundred Greek manuscripts. The method of acquiring was either by purchasing the original or having copies made, the work of research and selection being done by experts, among them the Venetian and Roman ambassadors, Italian or Greek refugees, such as Jerome Fondulus, Ang. Vergetius, Constantine Palaeocappas and other travellers sent abroad for the purpose. Blois had been well supplied with Latin and French manuscripts before the library was removed to Fontainebleau and after the death of François I., it

was very strong in the Greek department which numbered as many as 550 volumes.

Budé who was born at Paris in 1467, was the fifth son of Jean Budé, Seigneur d'Yères, de Villiers et de Marly, and of his wife, Catherine Le Picart de Plateville, and thus came of an ancient family. Jean Budé, who had received a far better education than was the general custom of the day, had collected a number of rare books. His son Guillaume was brought up under the best tutors obtainable, and was then sent to Orleans to study law. There he remained for three years, making little progress in his profession. He returned to his father's house and for a time gave himself up to a life of leisure and outdoor sport. He was twenty-five years of age before he again applied himself to study, turning then to Greek and Latin, which were to make him famous. His knowledge won for him the interest and protection of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., and the confidence of François I., 'Father of Literature and the Arts.' Brantôme described Budé as 'l'un des doctes personnages de la chrestianté' and said he was entrusted with the duty of adding new volumes day by day to the beautiful library. Lascaris compared his work to that done by Varro for Augustus:

Augusti ut Varro Francisci bibliothecam
Augēt Budaëus Palladis auspiciis.

In December, 1522, Budé was in Paris and wrote in a letter to Erasmus dated the 14th, that the King who was then at Lyons, having already chosen him as Librarian, had also given him the appointment

of Maître des Requêtes. François confirmed the appointment in a letter written 'in a most friendly spirit.' Soon after another post was to fall to Budé's share, namely that of Prévôt des Marchands. A second letter to Erasmus written at the close of 1523 indicates the functions and privileges of the Maître des Requêtes which, he says, 'do not demand great assiduity.' But of his new dignity he complains that it occasions a great deal of bustle and hurry. 'It has been conferred upon me for two years,' he adds, 'It was not possible to refuse it, but it is enough to make one curse one's destiny.' Budé preferred the quiet of his study to the more active walks of life. Bayle, emphasising this trait, declares that on the day of his marriage he left the company of the wedding-guests for three hours, which he spent over his books. A story that is better known, but not so well authenticated, is that one day whilst he was working in his library in the Rue Saint-Martin, he was warned that his house was on fire. 'Please tell my wife,' he remarked, without looking round at the anxious messenger, 'You should have remembered that I never take an active part in household matters.'

On his return from imprisonment in Spain, François I.'s activities were given to the improvement of Fontainebleau, and Sainte-Marthe mentions 1527 as the date of the increase and embellishment of the library, the books being moved in that year into a large gallery immediately below that which bore the King's name. This gallery, which no longer exists, was well-lighted by thirteen casements. A number of books confiscated from the Connétable

de Bourbon's library at Moulins were added to the King's treasures.

Budé had suffered ill-health for twenty years, and in 1540 caught a chill when travelling with the King and died. For the last six years of his life he had been aided in his work at the palace by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, who was made Garde des Livres in 1534. The poet continued in his post after the appointment of Pierre Duchâtel, Bishop of Tulle, as successor to Budé. Duchâtel, who was afterwards Great Almoner of France, was according to Bayle 'a man of much merit and learning,' as well as of ancient family. François I. declared of him that he was the only man of letters whose knowledge it was impossible to exhaust in two years. When the King asked the new Librarian if he was descended from good stock, he replied, 'Noah had three sons with him in the Ark, Sire. I cannot say from which branch of the family I spring.' Duchâtel was not only erudite, but his organising powers were unequalled, and in his day the library flourished exceedingly, Colin had recently fallen from the King's favour, and François on the recommendation of Cardinal Du Bellay made Duchâtel his reader in Colin's place. Duchâtel had travelled in the East and added 400 volumes of Oriental manuscripts. He also persuaded the King to unite the Library of Blois with the books newly collected at Fontainebleau, and it was during his régime that the unification took place and formed the beginnings of the national collection. The books arrived at the palace in June, 1544, and were received there by Matthieu la Bisse (or according

LIBRARY AT FONTAINEBLEAU. 195

to one authority Lanisse), in whose charge they had been for some time at Blois. There were in all 1890 volumes, of which only 109 were printed. La Bisse was paid a salary of 400 livres a year.

At the death of François I. in 1547, Duchâtel offered to retire, but Henri II. loaded him with fresh honours and made him Grand Almoner of France. He retained his post as Librarian until his death in 1552, but finding Henri II. less generously disposed towards the arts than his father, he did not add to the number of volumes during that time, but turned his attention to the care and preservation of those already in his charge. He was succeeded by Pierre de Montdoré who, it was said, owed his appointment to a translation of the Tenth book of Euclid which he dedicated to Cardinal Du Bellay, then much in favour.

The ordinance said to be enacted by Henri II. in 1556, to confirm one made by his predecessor, which according to Sainte-Marthe caused a copy of all books printed 'with privilege' to be furnished to the Royal Library at Fontainebleau, printed on vellum and bound suitably for preservation, after receiving credence for a couple of centuries has been proved to be a forgery, no provision of this kind being made until 1617, when Louis XIII. by Letters Patent commanded two copies of each work to be sent him.

Montdoré was a Member of the Grand Council and a celebrated mathematician. His first care on taking the post of Librarian was to make an examination of all the books in the collection, checking them from two catalogues of the Greek

manuscripts, one in alphabetical order and one arranged by subjects, compiled by Constantine Palaeocappas and copied by Vergetius. Montdoré marked each entry with an arrow to show that the book was present, noting the absence of others in the margin. He also entered some new manuscripts on the list and added a note concerning his investigations.

In 1567, Montdoré was accused of heresy and went into hiding at Sancerre being succeeded by Jacques Amyot, Bishop of Auxerre, the eminent translator of Plutarch. In 1560, a change had also been made in the curatorship, Jean Gosselin following upon la Bisse.

Amyot was born at Melun in October, 1514. For ten years he was lecturer in Greek and Latin at Bourges. In 1558, he became tutor to Henri II.'s sons, and was in great favour with Charles IX., who made him Grand Almoner of France and Curator of the University of Paris.

According to some of the authorities, Amyot was the first to throw the library open for students. By others the honour of suggesting such a course is assigned to Pierre Ramus, the victim of Saint-Bartholomew, who when persecuted took refuge under Charles IX. in the library at Fontainebleau, and spoke to Catherine de Médicis of moving the books to Paris 'near to the most ancient and most famous of universities' and throwing it open to readers. The actual date of removal to Paris was until recently much disputed. At Amyot's death in 1593, the librarianship was given to the famous historian Auguste de Thou. Many alterations and improve-

LIBRARY AT FONTAINEBLEAU. 197

ments were instituted under his rule. In 1594, he took the first steps which led to the addition in 1599 of the 800 Greek manuscripts which had belonged to Catherine de Médicis, who had confiscated them from the Maréchal de Strozzi. It used to be supposed that he advised the removal of the library, owing to the danger of depredations during the disturbances of the Ligue. But a letter from the curator Gosselin throws an entirely new light on this point. 'Thirty-four years or more ago,' he writes about 1595, 'I was put in charge of the King's Library, which is one of the most beautiful treasures of the kingdom. During this period I guarded it carefully for many years in the Château of Fontainebleau. Then at the command of King Charles IX. I had it removed to Paris.' Charles died in 1574, which makes the date of removal very much earlier than was previously held to be the case. The collection of books was at first housed in some room unknown in the vicinity of the colleges. Gosselin in his letter, expressed his thanks to Providence that he was able to save the library from destruction during the unsettled years of the Ligue. Believing, according to his own account, that marauders were likely to do greater damage during his presence in the library than if the place were securely barricaded, he fastened the door with bolts, bars and locks and departed to Saint-Denis and thence to Melun. President de Nully, however, took servants, knocked a hole in the wall of the building and carried off parcels of books. When Henri IV. mastered the capital, Gosselin returned to discover these

depredations, but was rewarded by the King for his faithful services, receiving between sixteen and seventeen hundred crowns which were due to him. But the dangers through which the library passed were not yet at an end. Cardinal Bourbon claimed the books, saying Henri III. had bestowed them on him. The King sent word 'that he would take better care of them than the Cardinal would and if the latter required a library he was rich enough to buy himself another.'

In 1601, Henri issued a patent to the scholar Casaubon promising him the post of curator after Gosselin. The latter hardly allowed Casaubon to inspect his treasures. 'I knew his way forty-four years ago' wrote Scaliger of Gosselin. 'He was too ignorant to use the library himself, too jealous to allow others to use it.' Born in 1506, Gosselin, at the time referred to by Scaliger, was in his second childhood. In his early years he had been appointed teacher to Marguerite, sister of François I. He had some fame as an astrologer and mathematician, but knew little of the classics. Appointed curator of the King's Library in 1560, he held the post for forty-four years, and when nearing a hundred years of age fell from his chair, while sitting alone by the fire, and was burnt to death. Casaubon, in spite of his Protestant beliefs, at a time when only Catholics were admitted to official posts, filled the appointment left vacant at Gosselin's death through the kind intervention of De Thou, and at an increase in salary of 400 livres per annum.

The books were safely installed in the College of Clermont when the Jesuits were expelled from

LIBRARY AT FONTAINEBLEAU. 199

Paris in 1595, and remained there until 1605, the first year of Casaubon's guardianship, when they were removed to an empty hall in the Convent of the Cordeliers.

In the meantime the post of Librarian at Fontainebleau had become merely a sinecure. In 1627, Abel de Sainte Marthe was appointed by Louis XIII. at the Palace, and he was followed by his son in 1652. In 1720, the appointment was merged with that of the Paris library and was held by Bignon. In 1721, the royal collection was placed in the Hôtel de Nevers, Rue Richelieu, where it is to-day.

Under the first Napoléon, Alex. Barbier was ordered to transport 20,000 volumes from the Library of the Council of State, and these, together with the books collected at the Tribunat form the body of the present Library at Fontainebleau, which is kept in the Galerie de Diane above the Galerie des Cerfs, famed for the murder of Monaldeschi. This gallery which was constructed by Henri IV. and restored by Napoleon and Louis XVIII., is 94 yards in length, and contains between thirty and forty thousand volumes.

FRANK HAMEL.

ANTHONY MARLER AND THE GREAT BIBLE.

STUDENTS of the English book trade are familiar with the name of Anthony Marler, haberdasher, of London, who is said to have supplied Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch with money to print Bibles, who presented King Henry VIII. with a copy printed on vellum, and who received an exclusive privilege to print Bibles for four years. It was also on Marler's behalf, and upon his petition, that the Privy Council, after having previously fixed the price at which the book was to be sold at 10s. in sheets and 12s. bound, issued a proclamation ordering every church throughout the realm to provide itself with a copy of the Bible 'of the largest volume.'

All this is ancient history; but some further details about Marler and the Great Bible have been found on the Plea Rolls of the Court of Common Pleas for Easter term in the year 1560, the second of Queen Elizabeth, consisting of the pleas and judgment in a suit; which must have been in the courts for nearly twenty years.¹ It offers some interesting problems for the solution of bibliographers, and at the same time records some

¹ Common Plea Roll, Easter, 2 Eliz. Roll 1187, membrane 651, recto.

hitherto unknown facts in connection with that transaction.

The plaintiff in the suit was Anthony Marler, and he sought to recover from the defendant, a certain John Fryer, gentleman, otherwise known as John Fryer, doctor of medicine, the sum of one hundred marks, which he claimed was forfeited by the non-fulfilment of a bond entered into by the said John Fryer and a certain Philip Scapulis, on the 26th February, in the 32nd year of the reign of Henry VIII. [*i.e.*, 1540/1], the conditions of which were as follows:—

The condition of this obligacion is suche that if the within bound Philip Scapulis his executors or assigns well and truly deliver or cause to be delivered to the within named Anthony Marler his executors or assigns as many bybles of the largest volume in quers as shall amount to the some of one hundred marks, sterling, after the rate and price of xs iiijd sterling every byble of the said bybles on this syde the feast of the Purification of our Lady [2 Feb., 1541/2] next comyng within written withoute fraud covyn or delay That then this present obligacyon shalbe voide and hadd for nought or ells it shall stond in full strength and vertue.

The defendant denied the plaintiff's statement, and declared that on the 16th August in the 33rd year of Henry VIII. [*i.e.*, 1541] Philip Scapulis had duly delivered the Bibles to the following persons, to Anthony Marler, eighty copies, to Robert Toye, by order of Anthony Marler, eighteen, to William Bonham, by the same order, twelve, and to Thomas Devyll, by the same order, twenty, all of which were delivered in the parish of St.

Clement Danes, without Temple Bar, that is at the shop or premises of Philip Scapulis.

The jury found for the defendant, holding it proved that Scapulis had duly delivered the Bibles according to his contract and within the specified time, and Marler was condemned in costs.

The John Fryer here mentioned was no doubt the same Dr. John Fryer, who, on the 16th August, 1539, wrote a humorous letter to Thomas, Lord Cromwell, stating that he had attended the late Bishop of Rochester for twelve days and four nights during his last illness, but had not yet been paid, adding, 'Truly if physicians should take no money for them that they kill as well as for them that they save, their livings should be very thin & bare.' . . . (Letters and State Papers, Henry VIII., Vol 14, p. 16.)

Philip Scapulis, who plays so important a part in this business, was an alien member of the Stationers' Company, and this is the earliest transaction recorded in connection with him. He was a native of Trier in Germany, and is believed to have settled in London about the year 1540. On the accession of Queen Mary, he fled from London to Bristol, where he continued until his death in 1590.

The edition of the Bible referred to in these proceedings was evidently that printed in November, 1540, with the title-page dated 1541, bearing the name of Edward Whitchurch as the printer.

The chief problem raised by the discovery of this document, is as to the relative parts played by Marler, Scapulis, and the printers Grafton and

Whitchurch. On this point, Mr. Pollard has suggested to me a solution, which is best given in his own words:

'Till your document turned up, every one believed that Grafton and Whitchurch were financed by Marler. If so, where did Scapulis come in? The only theory which I can form is that Marler being unable to find all the money, got Scapulis to advance a hundred marks of it and that as security for this Scapulis received a portion of the edition, which Marler agreed to take off his hands at a fixed price. Emphasizing the purely hypothetical nature of such an explanation, we might suppose that if the edition consisted of 1500 copies, Scapulis supplied Grafton and Whitchurch with 100 marks to meet part of their wages bill, and received as security, possibly, as many as 150 copies. Twenty of these may have represented his profit (as we must suppose that he arranged to make one) and he would get back his advance from Marler by handing him over the remaining 130. It is quite possible that other stationers made similar advances.'

Accepting this as a possible explanation of the case, we now come to the price agreed upon between Marler and Scapulis for these bibles, and the sequel to it.

Marler was to pay Scapulis 10*s.* 4*d.* for every bible. This was presumably the trade price. The only evidence we have of the retail price of these bibles is furnished by a letter by Archbishop Cranmer to Thomas Cromwell, then Lord Privy Seal and at the zenith of his power, on the 14th November, 1539. This letter, though it was printed in

full in the 1830 edition of the State Papers, does not seem to have received the attention at the hands of bibliographers which its remarkable statements deserve.

CXVI. CRANMER TO CRUMWELL.

My veray singuler good Lord. After my moste hartie commendations, theis shalbe to signifie unto your Lordeship, that Bartelett and Edward Whitecherche hath ben with me, and have, by thair accomptes, declared thexpensis and charges of the pryntyng of the great Bibles; and by thadvise of Bartelett, I have appoynted theym to be soule for 13s. 4d. a pece, and not above. Howebeit Whitechurche enformeth me, that your Lordeship thinketh it a moore conveniente price to have theym solde at 10s. a pece, which, in respect of the greate chargis, both of the papar (which in very dede is substanciall and good), and other great hinderances, Whitechurche and his felowe thinketh it a small price. Nevertheles they ar right well contented to sell theym for 10s., so that you wolbe so good Lorde unto theym, as to graunte hensforth none other lycence to any other printer, saving to theym for the printyng of the said Bible; for els thei thinke that thei shalbe greatly hindered therbye, yf any other should printe, thei susteynyng suche charges as they al redie have don. Wherefore, I shall besече your Lordeship, in consideration of their travaile in this behalf, to tender their requestes, and thei have promysed me to prynte in thende of their Bibles the price therof, to thentente the Kinges lege people shall not hensforth be deceyvid of thair price . . . Att Lambeth, the 14th day of November.

Your own ever assured

T. CANTUARIEN.

To my singuler good Lorde
my Lord Privie Seale

[State Papers 1830. ed. Vol. I. p. 589.]

It was Cromwell then, in 1539, who first suggested fixing the retail price of the Great Bible at ten shillings a copy, but evidently no steps were taken to put his suggestion into force before his death. In the first place, no Bible is known with the price printed at the end, and in the second place, Cranmer had already appointed them to be sold at 13*s.* 4*d.* per copy, before he heard of Cromwell's suggestion, and we may safely conclude that 13*s.* 4*d.* was the retail price at which they were being sold when Marler made his agreement with Scapulis. He thus left himself a very good margin of profit, but doubtless to his consternation the Privy Council at its meeting on the 25th April, 1541, adopted Cromwell's earlier suggestion, and fixed the retail price of the Bible at ten shillings per copy unbound!

This left Marler in a very awkward position. To begin with he stood to lose fourpence a copy on those one hundred and thirty copies, and it was evidently in seeking a way out of the difficulty that he turned on the unfortunate surety.

In the letter already mentioned, Mr. Pollard thus sums up the matter:—

‘When the Privy Council fixed the price at 10*s.*, it is clear that if Marler was to make a profit in the future he must have got better terms, *i.e.*, a cheaper quotation from Grafton and Whitchurch, or he would never have asked for a four years monopoly for selling Bibles at 10*s.* I should rather imagine that what he wanted was that Scapulis should either get Grafton and Whitchurch to make this cheaper price retrospective, and so throw some

of the loss on them, or else that Scapulis himself should bear his share of it. In asking for this Marler had not a leg to stand on, but length of purse counted for so much in Tudor law-suits that he may have thought it worth while to take his chance.

'Marler's original reason for taking security from Scapulis (whence the inclusion of the hapless Dr. Fryer) must clearly have been to prevent the sale of any large number of copies being in the hands of anyone but himself, for fear that Scapulis should undersell him.'

Of the three stationers mentioned in this document Robert Toy and William Bonham are sufficiently well known, but the third, Thomas Devyll or Devell, has not hitherto been associated with any book in particular. He lived in St. Paul's Churchyard, and as he took twenty copies, as against eighteen to Toy and twelve to Bonham, he would appear to have been a man of some standing in the trade.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

REVIEWS.

Prince d'Essling. Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e. Seconde partie. Florence, librairie Leo S. Olschki; Paris, librairie Henri Leclerc. pp. 680.

TO a curiously large extent this second part of the Prince d'Essling's great work is concerned with chapbooks. This is the result partly of his plan of arrangement, partly of the literary decadence of the period covered, the first quarter of the sixteenth century. By the Prince's plan all the editions of any book which he includes are enumerated and described in immediate connection with the first which contains a woodcut, and the activity of the book-illustrators from 1485 to 1500 had been so great that they had left none of the books which were then regarded as classics undecorated, if decoration were in any way possible. Self-respecting publishers of the sixteenth century caused new blocks to be cut when the old ones showed signs of wear, though the old blocks, however much worn, are much the more welcome to modern book-lovers. Other firms, more adventurous and more lavish, instead of contenting themselves with copies of the old designs, commissioned entirely new illustrations which they thought would better

please the taste of their customers. These also give little joy to modern collectors, for after 1500 (although, as Prince d'Essling's work has shown us, the change had begun some years earlier) new designs are for the most part heavily handled and of little charm, the graceful outlines of the fifteenth century cuts being now thickened and filled up with rather coarse shading. But whether the woodcuts are merely copied from older ones or from entirely new designs, always if the Prince has met with an edition during the fifteenth century they have been described in his first part. On the other hand, few illustratable new works of any importance were first produced at Venice during this period, and thus there was little or nothing left to describe in Part II. save the cheap little quartos which we have, perhaps too unceremoniously, described as chapbooks. Boiardo's '*Orlando Inamorato*' of 1521 is the most notable exception to this statement, and a Pontificale of the previous year is another, the heavily shaded cuts in each possessing but moderate interest. The title-cut to the '*Practica Musices*' of Gaforius, printed in 1512, is perhaps the most interesting example of a new design in a contemporary book, its picture of a choir only just missing excellence. Other good or interesting new illustrations which may be mentioned are the ornamental design to the '*Vita di Sancta Catherina*' of 1501 (p. 35), a picture of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in a '*Fructa della lingua*' of 1503, a fine outline cut of Popes appearing to their historian illustrating Platina's '*Historia de vitis Pontificum*' of 1504, p. 87 (a St. Gregory on p. 109,

apparently by the same designer, is spoilt by less skilful cutting), and the authentic portrait of Savonarola on p. 104.

Despite the exceptions which have been enumerated and a few others which might be added to them, the main interest of this section of Prince d'Essling's book is in the light which it throws on how publishers went to work when they were determined to have illustrations and unwilling to pay artists to design them. A very large proportion of the illustrations described are journeymen's adaptations from existing designs. Pictures in earlier Venetian books were copied and recopied, often with little skill or appropriateness. Thus, the fine woodcut of Ketham's '*Fasciculus Medicinæ*' was travestied for a '*Hortus Sanitatis*' of 1511. Contemporary engravings were also taken as models, and with his usual lavishness Prince d'Essling reproduces several of these, chiefly by Marc Antonio Raimondi, for comparison with the woodcut copies. But the craftsmen went far afield for their designs. There are a few imitations from French cuts, mostly from Horæ, but a chapbook of the '*Inamoramento de Paris e Viena*' appears to borrow its decoration from the '*Roman de la Rose*.' The travels of Marco Polo are illustrated with copies of pictures originally made for the Mainz Breidenbach, and cuts first used at Strassburg and Basel have also been imitated. But the most notable influence on the work of this period is that of the Florentine illustrations, the little framed woodcut pictures with which so many quartos and a few small folios, which issued from the Florentine presses between 1490

and 1500, had been charmingly decorated. The Prince has identified several of these originals, but one or two more might have been pointed out. Thus, the cut of a woman embracing a criminal on his way to execution which adorns a 1515 edition of the 'Inamoramento de Tristano e Isolta' (reproduced on p. 291) is a poor adaptation of a very spirited design for the Florentine 'Storia de Ippolito Buondelmonti e Dianora Bardi' (Kristeller, cut 25). So again the title cut of the 'Omiliario quadregesimale' of Ludovico Bigi, dated 22nd December, 1518 (reproduced on p. 368) is adapted in reverse from that of the Florentine 'Epistole ed Evangelii' of July, 1495. Florentine influence, possibly even the work of actual craftsmen driven from Florence by its disturbed conditions, may be seen in many of the Venetian cuts of the first years of the sixteenth century, particularly in the books published by the Sessas. The size of the illustrations is larger, and the work much coarser than in the Florentine cuts which served them as models, but the Florentine frames are imitated, and also the skilful Florentine use of a black ground wherever possible, thereby greatly reducing the cutter's task. One cut in this Veneto-Florentine style, that to an undated edition of 'Li sette dolori dell' amore,' by Tebaldeo of Ferrara, which the Prince figures as Venetian, had already been reproduced by Dr. Kristeller as Florentine, and the draperies and tripping movement of the woman whom Cupid shoots just as she is threatening a bound man with a sword are certainly Florentine enough. But as the Prince d'Essling believes, like ourselves, that Florentine

workmen migrated to Venice, the place of publication must be determined by the typography which has doubtless been considered. With the present instalment the Prince completes his registration of the books. We have still to look forward to an index volume which will also, we hope, contain a critical introduction to which the experience gained while this wonderful bibliography has been in progress will lend great authority. Meanwhile book-lovers have every reason to be grateful for what has already been given them.

The First Folio of Shakespeare: a further word regarding the correct arrangement of its preliminary leaves. By George Watson Cole. New York. Printed for the Author.

Mr. Cole has written an interesting pamphlet on the arrangement of the preliminary leaves of the First Folio Shakespeare, with much of which we are in entire agreement. Exception may be taken to some of his *obiter dicta*. For instance, he writes of the way in which a printer would go to work to print a quire of six leaves.

‘Having printed the first page, he next prints the second on its verso. Laying aside this sheet, he proceeds to print the third and fourth pages on the first leaf of a second sheet, which in turn he lays aside in order to take up a third sheet, printing upon it pages five, six, seven, and eight. Again he takes up the second sheet, upon the remaining blank leaf of which he prints pages nine and ten, and completes the ternion by printing pages eleven and twelve upon the still unprinted leaf of the

first sheet. . . . This process, analogous to that employed by the scribe in the production of manuscript volumes, was that by which the First Folio was printed.'

We are aware that this view has been held by at least one very competent authority, and if the First Folio had been printed about 1470 we could cheerfully accept it. Inasmuch, however, as folios had been printed two pages at a time for a century and a half before 1623 it does not seem probable that Jaggard would have doubled his pressmen's work by allowing them to use an obsolete method. Our own view is that in printing a quire of six leaves the pressmen could start work as soon as the compositors had set up seven pages, pages six and seven forming the inmost opening of the quire, and being printed off with the same pull. Pages four and nine would naturally be taken next, and then two and eleven. As soon as the ink on pages six and seven had dried, the sheet would be turned over and pages five and eight printed on the back of it, then pages three and ten, then one and twelve. If a start were delayed until the compositors had all twelve pages set up, the sheets might be taken in any order that was found convenient, and reasons can be given for believing that the printers of the First Folio sometimes started from the inmost sheet of the quire, sometimes from the outermost.

Coming to Mr. Cole's main subject, the proper order of the nine preliminary leaves in the First Folio, we may note first our points of agreement. As might be expected from a bibliographer of his experience he has no difficulty in seeing that the

leaf which is only a half sheet (nine leaves = four and a half sheets) can only be that which bears the title and engraved portrait. This has been shown to be the case by examination of copies in which all the other sheets remain intact; it is proved again by the pairing of water-marked and unwater-marked leaves, the significance of which Mr. Cole explains very fully and accurately; finally, the presence of the engraved portrait, necessitating a separate printing apart from the letterpress, explains the reason why a leaf instead of a whole sheet was used for this purpose.

In the second place, Mr. Cole sees quite clearly, as everyone must, that the whole trouble is as to the position of the sheet of which the first leaf bears the verses by Digges and J. M[abbe], and the second 'The Names of the Principall A^ctors,' and that the printing of this sheet was in fact an afterthought.

Thirdly, we agree with him in rejecting the four arrangements found respectively in the Chatsworth, Turbutt (Bodleian), Locker-Lampson, and Church copies. The two latter because they can only be attained by splitting sheets (Mr. Cole might have mentioned the fact that the Locker-Lampson copy was 'made up,' see its former owner's 'Confidences,' p. 204), while the Bodleian and Chatsworth arrangements both get 'the Names of the A^ctors' into very unsuitable positions. As regards the Chatsworth arrangement, which places the added sheet in the middle of the quire, we agree further with Mr. Cole that had the printers intended to turn their ternion into a quaternion in

this way there is a very high probability that they would have signed the first leaf of it A₄, and thus have saved all dispute.

There remain only two arrangements which deserve serious consideration :

A	B
Verses on Portrait	Verses on Portrait
*Title-page	*Title-page
Dedication (A ₂)	Dedication (A ₂)
Preface (A ₃)	Preface (A ₃)
Jonson verses	Jonson verses
Holland verses	Holland verses
Digges verses	Catalogue of the plays
Actors' names	Digges verses
Catalogue of the plays	Actors' names

Arrangement A is found, according to Mr. Cole, in three copies owned by Mr. J. P. Morgan, in two in the Lenox Library, and one each in those of Mr. Huth and Mr. Hoe.

Arrangement B is found, as Mr. Cole notes, in the Grenville copy at the British Museum, and in that at Oriel College, Oxford. It is also found in the Capell copy at Trinity College, Cambridge. Mr. Cole contends that A 'is the only reasonable and logical arrangement for the preliminary leaves of the First Folio, and is that originally intended by its printer.'

To the present writer this seems distinctly to be putting the case for arrangement A 'too high.' The arguments for B. were set forth in an article by Mr. W. W. Greg in this magazine for July, 1903, and they do not seem to be shaken by Mr. Cole's criticism. Mr. Cole maintains that

the printer's failure to mark the sheet by an asterisk or ¶, as was sometimes done with an added sheet, 'shows that it was not his purpose to have it placed after the ternion as a separate folio, as Mr. Greg would have it placed.' To this argument, which is quite sound as far as it goes, he adds the much less happy corollary:

'His great mistake, therefore, was in not affixing to this fourth sheet the signature-mark A6, by which his purpose to have it so placed that the complimentary verses should follow each other in unbroken succession might be unmistakably known.'

The uninitiated might well be tempted to ask why the omission of this A6 should be less damning to Mr. Cole's argument than that of a * or ¶ to Mr. Greg's. But as a matter of fact A6 would be a possible signature only in a quire of twelve leaves, or according to a different method of signing, at least ten. Mr. Cole has thus raised a needless obstacle in his own path. He has really two strong points in his favour, (i.) the fact that arrangement A keeps all the verses together, and (ii.) the omission of any signature to indicate that the sheet in dispute is a separate entity. Both, however, can be met.

The answer to (1) is that the desire to keep the verses together is an obvious explanation of the number of copies in modern bindings in which arrangement A is adopted. Of the copies in which arrangement B is adopted, we have Mr. Grenville's word that, until he handed it over to the mercies of his binder, Lewis, his was in the original

covers. The binding of the Oriel copy is old and at least possibly original. The Capell copy, according to Mr. Greg, 'shows no trace of ever having been tampered with.' If we look only at the verses, arrangement A may be the better; but as to the question of the printers' intention two or three copies in early bindings are far better evidence than a dozen bound in the last century.

As to point (ii) the omission of the printers to mark the additional sheet with * or ¶ will probably suffice to keep this controversy alive for ever. But it is more than countered by the fact that the leaf which contains The names of the Principall Actors in all these Playes is headed:

THE WORKES OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Containing all his Comedies, Histories, and
Tragedies: Truly set forth, according to their first
ORIGINAL

A heading of this kind was entirely superfluous unless it was desired to invest the leaf with something of the nature of a half-title. In so far as it partakes of this nature it ought to be brought close to the text. To follow it by the Catalogue of the Plays is not, however, a serious or impossible interruption. If it were not for the evidence of copies which seem to have been bound by the publishers we might allow this arrangement as equally likely to be correct. As to this evidence, Mr. Cole writes, in the last paragraph of his pamphlet:

'This is a case apparently in which the canon of bibliography, that copies in original bindings are authoritative as to their completeness and arrangement, is not *always* a safe one to be followed; in other words, the present case is the exception which proves the rule.'

Mr. Cole knows quite well that an exception only 'proves' a rule when it can be shown to be due to the causes which the rule asserts, varied by some specifiable difference. Until he can give some reason why the original binders went wrong in this case, his exception does not prove the rule, it merely breaks it.

*Notes d'Iconographie parisienne. Par Paul Lacombe.
(Extrait du Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de
Paris et de l'Ile de France, tome xxxvi., 1909.)*

M. Paul Lacombe has put together an interesting paper as the result of a fruitless quest for any genuine representation of Paris, or any section of it, in a French book of the fifteenth century. He has succeeded in finding nothing earlier than the cut of Notre Dame and its surroundings in the 'Cronica Cronicarum,' printed at Paris by Jacques Ferrebouc for Jean Petit and François Regnault in 1521. From the fifteenth century itself he has recovered nothing more important than an heraldic capital R enclosing the arms of Jean de Champigny, found in a tract, 'De dedicatione Ecclesiae Parisiensis,' printed by Gui Marchant in May, 1499. Though he offers other illustrations in his paper, he reproduces them only to prove that they are not

authentic, the proof as a rule consisting in the fact that they are found, according to the economical fifteenth century habit, used in the same book for totally different places. I cling to a belief myself that the bullet-headed Du Guesclin in the 'Abbeville Triomphe des Neuf Preux' of 1487 is a real portrait, but even if this belief (which was originally inspired by William Morris) be well founded, the Du Guesclin is, of course, not within M. Lacombe's subject. It is certainly curious that there should be such a total absence of local accuracy in early French woodcuts. It is true that in England the dearth is even more marked. But in Germany and Italy, along with dozens of imaginary pictures of places, which were made to do duty again and again, quite a number of attempts at artistic accuracy could be quoted; e.g., in Italy we find the Piazza at Venice in Ratdolt's editions of the 'Fasciculus Temporum,' the general view of Florence which adorns Bernardino's 'Bellezze e Casati di Firenze' (Kristeller, cut 1), and at least some of the views in the 'Supplementum Chronicarum' of Bergomensis. In Germany, again, along with some very mythological animals, there are excellent plans of places and sketches of natives in the 'Peregrinatio' of Breidenbach, and many of the scenes of towns and cities in the 'Nuremberg Chronicle,' that of Cologne, for instance, are recognizably accurate. The best French woodcutters from 1481 to 1500 certainly possessed the skill to give a general view of Paris or any of its buildings if they had thought it desirable to do so. Possibly, however, they reckoned that if their woodcuts

were made topographically correct, each could only be used in its proper place, and they would cease to be interchangeable!

Die Incunabeln des Basler Staatsarchiv. Von Carl Christoph Bernoulli. (Separatabdruck aus der Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertums-kunde. Band ix.)

Dr. Bernoulli, the learned librarian of the University of Basel, has done good service by publishing a concise account of some fifty documents printed in the fifteenth century, now preserved in the Staatsarchiv at Basel, to which his attention was called by the archivist. Among them are no fewer than nine pieces of printing by Peter Schoeffer of Mainz, three by Eggstein of Strassburg, six by Bernhard Richel of Basel, two by Martin Flach, two by Johann Amerbach, seven by Beseken, and nine by Michel Furter. Konrad Dinkmut of Ulm and Kachelofen of Leipzig are represented by two pieces each, nine other printers by single specimens, while the typographical authorship of three others has not been ascertained. Nearly all these documents have hitherto remained undescribed, and it is quite likely that of many of them no other copy will ever be found. Dr. Bernoulli has written a brief introduction on the historical aspect of the collection, and each document is carefully described, so as to show its purport, length, and provenance. Those printed by Schoeffer at Mainz are mainly concerned with the affairs of its deposed Archbishop, Dieter von Isenburg. The first is a manifesto

dated in the eventful year 1462, when Mainz was sacked; then follow several documents, after his restoration to his archbishopric, connected with his claim to jurisdiction over the city of Erfurt. From the press of Johann Koelhoff comes a circular issued by the municipality of Cologne to vindicate the severe measures it had taken with its opponents. Konrad Dinkmut of Ulm prints an imperial warning to Duke George of Bavaria to release some citizens of Nordlingen, and other imperial documents are described from presses at Mainz, Basel, Augsburg, Memmingen, etc. The pamphlet ends with some excellent facsimiles. The discoveries which Dr. Bernoulli has made known cause us to wonder what single-sheet treasures may be lurking in our own Record Office. Only a year or two ago attention was drawn to some interesting Scottish printed proclamations of the sixteenth century preserved with written ones in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum. It seems possible that some Caxton documents of this kind may still have escaped registration. Meanwhile the Staatsarchivar and Universitätsbibliothekar of Basel have earned our thanks and congratulations for the excellent way in which they have dealt with the Basel documents.

A. W. POLLARD.

NOTES ON BOOKS AND WORK.

FROM America there have come to us two rather belated echoes of the Conference of the American Library Association held last year at Bretton Woods. The first of these is from Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson, of Chicago, who writes:

'The keynote of the Bretton Woods Conference was co-ordination. From the President's address with its grandiose plan for a system that would include the whole continent to the modest story of a system of county libraries of diminutive size, the idea that a library is not an isolated point in the universe but a member of a larger whole, was apparent through all the discussions at the general sessions. As Mr. Gould pointed out, the day for discussing library technique or method is almost gone. We have now reached the point where the details of our routine work are standardized, and we must, in our gatherings, take the broader outlook over new fields and pastures green. Entirely new the idea is not. Time and again a voice has been heard calling for extension of the usefulness of libraries outside their more local circles, and co-operation is by no means a new word among us. This was the underlying idea in all Mr. Dewey's early agitation. Mr. Putnam, while still at Minneapolis, pointed to one way in which libraries could be made useful to one another, and Dr. Richardson has more than once raised his voice suggesting the extension and systematizing of the practice of inter-library loans. The present phase of the movement, however, which has been designated by the somewhat

222 NOTES ON BOOKS AND WORK.

more definite word co-ordination, is of more recent date. President Eliot's address at the Magnolia Conference focussed our attention on the need of separating from the live books those that seemed to have outlived their usefulness, and Mr. Lane, in his address at the dedication of the Oberlin College Library's new building last year, brought the ideas of information bureau, storage library, and lending library for libraries together into one carefully worked out scheme. The two addresses of President Eliot and Mr. Lane furnished the text for Mr. Gould's, in which he pointed the way for a continental system, just as Mr. Hill and Mr. Hodges in presenting the systems in use in Brooklyn and Cincinnati showed how the same idea had been worked out within single libraries having extensive branch systems. The idea underlying this whole movement is that, with the enormous increase in the productions of the printing-press, individual libraries cannot own and house more than an infinitesimal part of the books that may be called for by their readers, that some limitation, if not specialization, is necessary, and that there must be some place or places where the surplus should be gathered, and where books should be collected that are too costly or too voluminous to be kept by individual libraries. The Bretton Woods Conference might be looked upon as the turning-point. Hitherto we have discussed methods and technique, cataloguing rules, methods of circulation, and the minor technique of administration. The new problems will be problems of results; not how to achieve results, but as to what results we are aiming at. What are we here for? What is our place in the community, in the state, in the nation? What are our relations to each other, to other workers in the educational and civic field? These are the questions that confront us now.

The second echo of the Bretton Woods Conference comes in the form of a pamphlet by Mr. Cedric Chivers on 'The Paper of Lending Library Books,'

which deserves, and will we hope receive, the attention of the English Library Association's Committee on Bookbinding. Hitherto we have been led to think that safety lies in furnishing binders with hard and fast specifications in accordance with which they must do their work. The result of Mr. Chivers's pamphlet is to destroy our faith in specifications for the binding of all books on the cheaper kinds of modern paper, *i.e.* precisely those which are the greatest problem to the superintendents of bookbinding in modern libraries. Mr. Chivers shows that while the average strength of unfolded papers has diminished since 1890 from 10 lbs. to 6 lbs., the diminution caused by folding and sewing has also been intensified, so that the relative strength of the old and new papers in the books when bound is not as 10 to 6, but more nearly as 6 to 2. With papers reduced to this weakness it becomes of great importance to adapt the binding to the grain of the paper, paper with a grain running across the page being 45 per cent. stronger than that in which it runs up and down. A further difficulty in modern books is due to the great variations in thickness. Before 1890 the thickest paper used was only about twice as thick as the thinnest, now the proportion is as 6 or 7 to 1. Mr. Chivers contends that under these changed conditions hard and fast conditions drawn up by librarians, who pay no attention to the lie of the grain or the thickness of the paper, are purely mischievous. We are disposed to agree with him for the moment, but the true remedy obviously lies in putting pressure on publishers to use better paper, and also to insist

224 NOTES ON BOOKS AND WORK.

that their printers, when given a weak paper, print on it so as to bring the grain across the page. But though we hope for more permanent remedies than Mr. Chivers proposes, we strongly recommend every one interested in the casing and binding of books for libraries to read his pamphlet, which marshalls the facts with commendable clearness and impressiveness.